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WESTERN RESERVE STUDIES VOL. I, No. 4.

This series of studies will, it is hoped, include in easily accessible form some of the valuable results of the researches undertaken by members of the various faculties, as well as, by Alumni of Western Reserve University. All serious students connected with any department of the University are therefore cordially invited to submit to the Editor pieces of original work which they desire to have published. If the piece of work represents a genuine contribution to the particular field in which it lies, it will be printed in the *Bulletin*. But only such contributions will be accepted for publication. Unfortunately, for some years to come it is feared, the annual issue of these studies will have to be limited to the May number (considerably increased in size when necessary), unless a special fund can be obtained for this purpose.

In order that the contributions from every department of the University may be sure of 'specialist' and fair editorial treatment, an Editorial Committee will assist the General Editor of the *Bulletin* in passing upon articles, the contents of which may be unfamiliar to him. To this end the following members of the University Faculty have kindly consented to serve on the Committee: Professors Arbuthnot (of the department of Economics), Bourne (of the department of History), Emerson (of the department of English), Herrick (of the department of Biology), and Todd (of the department of Anatomy).

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY BULLETINS

NEW SERIES

VOL. XXI

MAY, 1918

No. 4

LITERARY SECTION SUPPLEMENT

WESTERN RESERVE STUDIES, VOL. I, No. 4

RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE'S
MENDING OF LIFE

FROM

*The Fifteenth Century Worcester Cathedral
Manuscript F. 172*

BY

WILLIAM HENRY HULME, PH. D.
Professor of English

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY PRESS
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PREFACE

The principal excuses for the "being" of this edition of *The Mending of Life* are: (1) It is preserved in a late (15th Century) and little known manuscript and has never been printed before. (2) It has apparently never been accepted by students and scholars (though more than once definitely reported and described) as being actually in existence, or at least, as being what the recent describers of the Ms. have reported it to be. At any rate those who have studied and written about Rolle's work have either failed to mention this version altogether, or have referred to it in a spirit of not wholly unjustifiable skepticism.¹ (3) The general revival of interest in the life and work of the famous monk and poet of Hampole during the last decade, and in the Christian mysticism of England in the fourteenth century, of which Rolle was perhaps the main inspiration, if not the originator, would seem to justify the present edition. (4) The fact that at least one scholar in this country and one in England have been and apparently still are collecting all the known materials relating to Rolle and his work, would seem to render this reprint a timely one. (5) Since a rotograph reproduction of the manuscript has been in the possession of the library of Western Reserve University for some ten years, having been originally procured at the instance of the present writer, it would seem to be eminently proper that scholars of this country be given convenient access to at least some of the interesting pieces which the Ms. contains. (6) This piece (and all the other pieces of the Ms., written as they are in one hand and a uniform dialect of the 15th century) will be in itself, it is hoped, interesting to all students of the Middle English language and literature.

No effort has been made to settle definitely such questions as those of the actual date and authorship of this translation, because all the original Latin versions (and they are numerous)², and most

¹ See Ino. Edwin Wells, *Manual of the Writings of Middle English*, Yale University Press, 1916, p. 450; "*The Libel of Richard Hermyte of Hampol of the Amendement of Mannes Lif, other ellis of the Rule of Goode Livyng*, which is said to be in Ms. Worcester Cathedral Libr. 172 (late 15th Century) in twelve chapters of prose, is perhaps a made-over version of the Form."

² Miss Comper (*The Fire of Love or Melody of Love and the Mending of Life or Rule of Living, Translated by Richard Miryn, etc.* . . . Edited and done into modern English by Frances M. M. Comper. With an Introduction by Evelyn Underhill. Methuen & Co., London, 1914) records (p. 270 ff.) more than fifty different manuscripts of the Latin *De Emendatione Vitae* and ten of Middle English translations of it in English libraries; and the list does not claim to be complete. The following printed editions of the *De Emendatione* are known to have been made: (1) *Speculum Spiritualium* (appendix). Paris, 1510; (2) *D. Ricardi Pampolitani anglosaxonis eremitae*, etc., Antwerp, 1533; the same, edited by J. Fabri, Cologne, 1535; "A later re-issue, with commentaries on the Psalms, Job, etc." Cologne, 1536; reprinted (without commentaries). Paris, 1618. (3) *La Bigne's Bibliotheca Patrum Maxima*. Cologne, 1618, (tom. xv); a later edition of the same, Lyons, 1677 (tom. xxvi). See Comper, *op. cit.* p. 272. I have not been able to get a copy of Harford's edition of *The Mending of Life* which Miss Comper records (Preface, p. xxxv, footnote).

of the Middle English translations, of the *De Emendatione Vitae* are by the hard force of circumstances inaccessible to the editor at the present time. Moreover, the writer has neither the desire to encroach in any way upon the field so capably pre-occupied by the careful researches that Dr. Hope Emily Allen is at present carrying on; nor has he the necessary leisure to devote to the collecting of the data which would be required for anything approaching a 'final' édition of Rolle's works, and which it is to be hoped Dr. Allen (or perhaps Miss Deanesly) will have in print in the not far distant future. This edition, therefore, has the one main purpose in view of presenting an accurate text of the Worcester version of *The Mending of Life*, along with some new or additional facts about Richard Rolle's life and writings,—all of which will, it is hoped, be helpful to special students of the Hermit of Hampole.

For the concise but comprehensive account of the peculiarities of the language I am largely indebted to the kindness of Professor O. F. Emerson, whose suggestions and advice on many other points have been of great value to me in preparing this edition.

I have tried to reproduce in the text of *The Mending of Life* all the essential features of the manuscript. The orthography of the original has been followed exactly except for the substitution of *i* (*I*) for *j* initially, following modern usage; but the indiscriminate capitals have been discarded and their use modernized somewhat, as have also the punctuation and paragraphing. However, capitals have not been introduced into the text in all cases where they would be required according to modern usage. The abbreviations of the manuscript are comparatively few in number and affect especially *er*, final or medial, *es* (*is*), and *n* final. They have not been indicated in the text. I have been mainly concerned in making only those changes which seem to be essential to the correct understanding of the original and which would not destroy in any way its real medieval character. Emendations are always indicated either by the customary brackets, or in the footnotes.

INTRODUCTION

I. RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE

The version of *The Mending of Life* herewith printed is preserved in a late fifteenth century manuscript belonging to the library of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral. The Ms. bears the press mark 'F. 172,' and since accurate descriptions of it have been printed in two or three different and easily accessible forms in recent years,³ it is not necessary to repeat the description here. Moreover, the life of Richard Rolle has been several times described,—briefly, as well as with all the details that the most careful studies of the last fifty years have been able to furnish. It is therefore only important to say in this connection that Richard Rolle⁴ was born at Thornton, Yorkshire, England, probably between years 1290 and 1300, and died and was buried at Hampole, near Doncaster, in 1349. He seems to have studied for some time at Oxford, which institution he left at the age of nineteen and returned to his father's home, where he assumed under rather romantic circumstances the dress of a hermit. As such he spent the remainder of his life in pious service and in writing numerous mystic poems in English, as well as prose tracts or sermons in both English and Latin.

In spite of the fact that Horstman, Schneider, and Miss Comper have each emphasized the great significance and importance of Rolle's work both in prose and poetry for the student of English literature in the fourteenth century, it has not yet been adequately

³ Wm. H. Hulme, *A Valuable Middle English Manuscript. Mod. Phil.*, vol. iv, p. 67 ff. (July 1906); *Catalogue of Manuscripts preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester Cathedral*. Compiled by the Rev. John Kestell Floyer, M. A., etc. . . . and edited and revised . . . by Sidney Graves Hamilton, M. A., Fellow and Librarian of Hertford College, Oxford. Jas. Parker & Co., Oxford, 1906; also in Hulme, *The Harrowing of Hell*, etc., EETS. Extra Ser. 100, London, 1907. Introduction, p. xlviii ff.

⁴ See especially C. Horstman, *Yorkshire Writers: Richard Rolle of Hampole, an English Father of the Church and his Followers*. Library of Early Writers, 2 vols., London, 1895-6, vol. II. Introduction; George G. Perry, *English Prose Treatises of Richard Rolle de Hampole*. EETS, orig. Ser. 20, London, 1866, Preface; Rev. Ralph Harvey, *The Fire of Love and The Mending of Life*, the first Englishist in 1435. etc., etc., by Richard Misyn. EETS, orig. Ser. 106, London, 1896, Introduction; Rev. H. R. Bramley, *The Psalter or Psalms of David and Certain Canticles . . . by Richard Rolle of Hampole*. Edited from manuscripts with an Introduction and Glossary. Oxford, 1884, Introduction; A. C. Pausan, *A Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*. Cambridge, 1902, Introduction, pp. xxxi ff.; Hope Emily Allen, *The Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*, Radcliffe College Monographs, No. 15. Studies in English and Comparative Literature . . . Presented to Agnes Irwin, Litt. D., LL. D., Dean of Radcliffe College 1894-1909. Boston: Ginn & Co. 1910, pp. 114-170; *The Incendium Amoris of Richard Rolle of Hampole*. Ed. by Margaret Deanesley, Manchester University, Monographs. Manchester and London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1915, Introduction; *The Prose Style of Richard Rolle of Hampole with Special Reference to its Euphuistic Tendencies*. By John Philip Schneider. A Dissertation. Baltimore, 1906, p. 1 ff; Wells, *op. cit.* pp. 444-447.

and justly estimated and placed by historians of English literature. All of the recent discussions of Rolle and his work in the histories of English prose are inadequate and unjust through omissions. Rolle's best known work has long been, *The Pricke of Conscience*, but in recent years serious doubts as to the authorship of the poem have arisen; and Miss Hope Allen has written a very interesting essay to prove that it is not his work at all.

The chief source for the life of Rolle is an *Office* written after 1383, which was "prepared by the nuns of Hampole in the hope of his canonization;" such canonization, however, never took place.⁵

The Mending of Life is the fifth⁶ piece in order of the contents of the Ms. F. 172, and it begins at the top of fol. 17 without title or rubric: "This is the libel of Richard Hermyte of Hampole of the Amendement of Mannes Lif, other ellis of the Rule of Good livyng." The importance of this manuscript to the student of Richard Rolle and his works has never been sufficiently emphasized. For, besides containing this piece and the first seventy-two chapters of Rolle's version of the Psalter (ff. 166-213), preceded by a general prolog⁷ and five shorter prologs to other books of the Old Testament, all apparently genuine productions of the Hermit of Hampole; there are in it two or three pieces which seem to belong to Rolle's school of writers ('A treati agenst gostly temptaciouns,' ff. 33 b-44; 'The Twelves degrees of Humility' ff. 44-46b; 'The Book of Contemplacioun, or The Divine Cloud of Unknowing', ff. 72 b.-116), and the fly-leaves at the beginning of the manuscript are scribbled over with a mass of notes about the date of Rolle's death and references to many manuscripts that contain his works. As neither of the hitherto published⁸ accounts of the manuscript has paid the attention to these notes which their importance seems to me to deserve, I propose to reprint them in their entirety here.

II. W. THOMAS'S NOTES

The notes cover parts of three pages: pp. 1-2 of fol. 1 and the verso of fol. 2, the recto being blank. They are all in the same hand (excepting the modern *Liber Decani et Capituli Eccles.*

⁵ See Allen, *op. cit.* pp. 116-117.

⁶ Not the second as reported by Hamilton, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

⁷ This prolog differs considerably towards the end from that printed by Bramley (*op. cit.*, pp. 3-5), who says nothing of "another [prolog] on the same booke" or "of the five prologes on the five bookes of wisdom next that suen", which we find recorded in our Ms., f. 167-167b (see below pp. 13-18 for reprint of all these prologs).

⁸ See p. 3 footnote.

Cath. Vigorniensis, near the top of p. 1, and the name "Will Ballard, 1707," written with a flourish near the top of p. 2). The hand is the same as that of the name "W. Thomas", in the upper right corner of p. 2. This W. Thomas seems to have been the well-known Worcester antiquary, William Thomas, who lived from 1670 to 1738. The author⁹ of the sketch of Thomas in the *Dictionary of National Biography*¹⁰ says of his work: "With a view to the publication of a history of Worcestershire he transcribed many documents, besides visiting every church in the county, and his collections were of great service to Nash, who acknowledges his obligations to them. His industry was amazing, and he hardly allowed himself time for sleep, meals, and amusement. His works are, *Antiquitates Prioratus Majoris Malverne in agro Wiccianti, cum Chartis originalibus easdem illustrantibus, ex Registris Sedis Episcopalis Wigornensis*, London, 1725; *A Survey of the Cathedral Church of Worcester, with an account of the Bishops thereof from the foundation of the see to the year 1660 (a mistake for 1610), also an appendix of many original papers and records, never before printed*, London, 1736." But he "is best known as the editor of the second edition 'revised, augmented, and continued,' of Sir William Dugdale's *Antiquities of Warwickshire*, 2 vols. London, 1730."

These notes seem to show that Thomas was interested in gathering all the data about the works of Richard Rolle to which he could get access. They apparently begin at the top of p. 2, and after a couple of lines, go down to the lower part of the page, because Ballard's name and flourish, together with the list of the contents of the Ms., cover most of the upper half of p. 2: "See Leland *de Scriptoriis Britannicis*, p. 348, cap. 372, *De Richardo Hampole*; Cod. Ms. Ashmoleani 6921 Ricardus Rolle Hampolensis de stimulo conscientiae, fol. membran. obiit 1349. Vide Bal. p. 431, 41." At the end of this line there is inserted near the margin: "Qu[ery], if he be the same", then a cross (+) referring the reader to the same place (near the bottom) of the preceding p. 1, and showing this to be an insertion after the other notes on p. 2 had been written out: "Qu[ery] if he be the same, for in the Ms. in the Library of York Cathedral are these words: Expliciunt capitula de Emendatione Vitae per venerabilem Ricardum de Hampule Eremitam qui festo S. Michaelis 1449 migravit ad Deum. It is the same and instead of 1449 it must be 1349. Vixit tempore Edwardi Tertii Anglorum Regis, obiit Anno Domini 1349 in festo St. Michaelis. Sepultus est honorifice in Hampolensi Monasterio Virginibus Sacro quod quatuor pasuum

⁹ Thompson Cooper, F. S. A.

¹⁰ Reissue of 1909, vol. xix, p. 679. It seems evident that Thomas's 'notes' were written in this Ms. after the date 1707, when Will. Ballard signed his name. Thomas probably obtained the Ms. from Ballard (whose name does not occur in the *Dict. of Nat. Biog.*); and as he died in 1738, the notes were apparently made between 1707 and 1738.

millibus destat a Dunocastro celebri Eboracensis provinciae oppido. Leland¹¹ de Script., p. 349."

Then the notes on the manuscript versions of Rolle's works continue (bottom of p. 2): "8180, A treatise of Richard the Hermit beginning: 'In eche synful man or woman that is bound in dely [i.e. dedly] synne is thre wrechidness¹², etc.' membr. 1524, 6; Ms. S. Mariae Magdalene 2212, 71, Richardus Hampole de emendatione vitae et de regula vivendi; ejusdem, meditationes piaae aliquot in sententias Psalmorum sive misericordias Dei¹³; Expositiones et meditationes piaae in quasdam periochas libri Job; ibid. 2256, 115, Expositio Ricardi Hampol super Cantica et in Canticum Isaiae, Cap 12, etc.;¹⁴ Ms. Scholae apud Conventriam, The Mirroure of the blissed life Jesus Christ, written in Latin by Bonaventure and translated as it is thought by Richard Hampool, an English Hermit."¹⁵ Then the notes proceed on p. 3 of the manuscript, at the top of the page:

"Ms. Laud. Ep. 77, Ric. Rolle de Hampole, De emendatione peccatoris;¹⁶ ejusdem, Tractatus de non judicando Proximo, J (2) N. 1550 (*sic*); ejusdem, Confessiones; ejusdem, Tract. dictus Oleum effusum in Eulogium nominem Jesu; idem, In lectiones mortuorum; ejusdem, Incendium patris melodia Amoris, 2075; N. 114, Richard Rolle de Hampole, Commentaria in Psalmos, Ang.¹⁷ Fol. 2487; et comment. in Cantica S. Scripturae; N. 1292, R. Hampole, a treatise called regula bene vivendi;¹⁸ et de visitatione infirmorum; 1499, R. Hampole, Tractatuli varii; 1584, R. Hampole, Vehiculum vitae;

¹¹ My assertion that this "bibliography of the works of Richard Rolle of Hampole . . . was . . . evidently copied from the well known catalogues of Leland, Bernard, and Bale" does not now seem to be justifiable in the face of the facts (cf *A Valuable Middle English Manuscript*, p. 68).

¹² These are the first words of Rolle's popular piece, *The Form of Perfect Living*, but different in dialect from any of the three versions printed by Horstman, I, 3 ff.

¹³ This appears to be the *De dei Misericordia* noted by Horstman II, *Introduction* xxxviii.

¹⁴ See Horstman *op. cit.* II, *Introduction* xxxvii f., for a list of the genuine Latin writings of Rolle, in so far as they were known to Horstman.

¹⁵ This may be a reference to the well known prose work [it was printed in 1488 by Caxton (?), in 1495 by Pynson (?), and in 1517 and 1523 by Wynkyn de Worde] of Nicholas Love, prior of the Carthusian house of Mount Grace de Ingelby, Yorkshire, in the early years of the fifteenth century. See *The Mirror of the Blessed Lyf of Jesu Christ*, a translation of the Latin Work entitled *Meditationes Vitae Christi*, attributed to Cardinal Bonaventura. Made before the year 1410 by Nicholas Love. Edited by Lawrence F. Powell, and printed at Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1908. *Introductory Note*. Wells's references to this work (*op. cit.*, pp. 359, 456, and 819) are incomplete. The editor says "nothing is definitely known about Nicholas Love beyond the statement found in many manuscripts that the translation was made by him." Powell does not, unfortunately, give the explicit information contained in these "many manuscripts", which would be quite important for the full identification of Love as a Middle English author. There is nothing about Love in the *Dictionary of Nat. Biog.*, nor in any other accessible work, so far as I can find out, but those of Powell and Wells. At the end of the 'Mirror', as printed by Powell from one of the twenty-three known manuscripts, that is, "Ms. Brasenose College c. g. (now deposited in the Bodleian Library)", the following information is given: "Iste liber translatus fuit de latino in anglicum per dominum Nicholaum loue, Priorem Monasterii de mounte grace, ordinis Cartusiensis" (p. 324).

¹⁶ One of several titles used to designate the *De Emendatione Vitae*; cf. Horst. *op. cit.* II, *Introd.* p. xxxviii.

¹⁷ Probably for *Anglice*.

¹⁸ This title may designate either *The Form of Living* or *The Mending of Life*. The tendency to confuse these two distinct works has lingered on to the present day. Cf. Whitney, *Camb. Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, vol. II, p. 52.

1619, 1700, Stimulus Conscientiae, Anglicano metro per Hampole 2009, 2322; 1859, R. Hampole, de Emendatione Peccatoris, 1975, 1985, 2412; 1944 (?), R. Hampole, De miseria humani generis; de diversis conditionibus et instabilitate seculi: De Morte, De Purgatorio, De die judicis, De poenis inferni, De gaudio Coeli;¹⁹ 1969, R. Hampole super Lectiones exequiarum in Job, 2712; 2207, R. Hampole postillae super Novem Lectiones Mortuorum; 2551, R. H. de contemptu mundi; 2728, Ric. Hampole, Tractatus varii in Psalmos etc.; ejusdem, L. 2, de Amore Dei contra Amatores Mundi, Incendium Amoris, Melodia Contemplativorum, Com. in Cantica; ejusdem, explicatio locorum aliquot Apocalypseos, Regula vivendi in 12 cap., Expositio in Cantica Cantorum, Paraphrasis in decem Praecepta, Tract. in lamentationes Jeremiae, Vita Mariae Virginis, Tract. in orationem Dominicam, Tract. in symbolum Fidei, Postillae super novem Lectiones Mortuorum, Brevis paraphrasis in Symbolum Athanasii, Expositio Cant. B. Mariae, Magnificat dicti; 3054, R. Hampole's treatise called the Prick of Love; 3509, The Prick of Conscience, divisus in 7 partes: De Miseria humana, Mundanorum inconstantia, Timore Mortis, Purgatorio, Die Judicis, Poenis inferni, Beautitudine Coelesti, 3679, 6921; 3610, Lectionale Pontificium, scil. officium Lectionum, seu Commemorationum S. Richardi Hampole; 3657, R. H., Meditations concerning the Passions of Christ, 8 degrees of Humility.

This Ms. now [in] Universities (*sic*) of Oxford: 18, 56, 54, 74, 75, 142, 407, 454, 534, 535, 1037, 1381, 1466, 1622, 1550, 1703, 1861, 1855, 1920, 2147, 2212, 2256.

University of Cambridge: 120, 171, 174, 612, 828, 845, 1050, 1074, 1131, 1580, 1740, 1742, 2046, 2317.

In bibliothecis Angliae: 17, 670; 3175, 5853, 6915, 6992, 7344, 7646, 8003, 8078, 8118, 8141, 9152, 9401, 9576, 10008."

These notes conclude thus at the foot of page 3 of the Ms., the following page being entirely blank. If the signature on p. 2 is Thomas's own, then the notes were all made by him. Most of them give clear and definite information to the student of Hampole, though it would probably be impossible now to verify many of the numerical references,—especially those at the end. These numbers seem to refer to press-marks of manuscripts as they were known in the earlier catalogues of the several collections which Thomas mentions. But one is quite puzzled by the final *In bibliothecis Angliae* with the numbers following these words, unless one is to suppose that Thomas was copying them from some to him well-known antiquarian work, like Dugdale or Leland. And yet even a cursory examination of Leland's list of Rolle's works shows that

¹⁹ This and the four immediately preceding entries are almost identical with the designations for the parts of the *Prick of Conscience*, as it is described in a later entry.

Thomas's 'notes' could hardly have been based on it;²⁰ the same thing seems to be true of his indebtedness to Bale and other known antiquarians. He apparently took from Leland the item about Rolle's life and death, for which he gives definite credit, and nothing more. As for the rest, I see no reason why these 'notes' may not have been the result of Thomas's own interest in the work and life of the Hermit of Hampole and of his examination of all the sources of information accessible to him. They certainly give evidence of a more detailed, as well as a richer, knowledge of the subject than can be found in any bibliographic work (perhaps in all bibliographic works) before his time.²¹ Thomas's list of the works attributed to Rolle in his day includes most of the Latin works ascribed to him by Horstman, and not a single piece is mentioned by title which falls into Horstman's classes of "works more or less doubtful" and "works wrongly ascribed to him."²²

The list of Rolle's English works as they are recorded by Thomas contains likewise, with two possible exceptions,²³ only such as Horstman decided should be considered genuine. They are: *The Form of Perfect Living* (recorded several times,—once as "R. Hampole, a treatise called *Regula bene vivendi*");²⁴ again as "A

²⁰ Since Leland and the other bibliographical works are not easily accessible to students in this country, and since their remarks about Richard Rolle have not been reproduced in any recent study of him and his work, as far as I know, it will not be out of place to reprint here what Leland at least says (Bale, Bernard, Pits, et cet., are not accessible to me at present). In the *Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis, ex Autographo Lelandino* edidit Antonius Hall, Oxford, 1709, we find on pp. 348-9 (cap. cccclxxxii, tom. secundus) the following items De Richardo Hampole: "Richardus Hampolus, eremita ejus sectae quam vocant Augustinianam, literas assidue colebat, una cum religione: unde non levem gloriam, si modo quid gloriae in hac nostra mortalitate esse potest, sibi comparavit. At erat paulo eruditior, quam facundior, late enim id temporis ingens barbaries totam Europam occupavit; et, sensim declinante imperio Romano, decrevit etiam linguae Latinae, corrumpentibus eam barbaris puritas. Praestitit tamen Hampolus quanta potuit maxima per temporis infelicitatem. Quo nomine certe sua laude non indignus est. Nam quamvis ille, omne punctum tulerit, qui miscuit utile dulci, perinde ac si diceret rem per se bonam accedente eloquentia illustriorem factam: tamen non ille suo munere fraudandus est, qui majori fide et labore, quam facundia et elegantia rem utilem tractat.

Sed ista alias rectius: ad libros igitur ab illo editos se nostra convertet oratio; non omnes, scripsit enim quam plures sed ad illos, quos ego novi extare Eboraci, in bibliotheca Mariana: Super Psalterium, Super Lectiones Mortuorum, Super Threnos, Super Aliquot loca Canticorum, Super Orationem Dominicam, Super Symbolum, De Emendatione peccatoris alias Vitae, De Amore, sive Incendio Amoris, Super Psalmum, Judica me Deus, Super Apocalypsim.

Londini in Bibliotheca Carmelitana: De Excellentia Contemplationis Carmen Rhythmicum nomine meli, Philomela, Carmen rhythmicum. Scripsit etiam libellum, cui titulus Ab Exordio ne tardas, et alterum hac inscriptione Domine Deus meus. Vixit tempore Edvardi tertii Anglorum regis; obiit anno Domini 1349 in festo S. Michaelis, ut scriptum erat in codice Mariano. Sepultus est honorifice in Hampolensi monasterio virginibus sacro, quod quatuor passuum millibus distat a Donocastro, celebri Eboracensis oppido." Some similar notes on Hampole "in a 17th century hand" occur at the end of *The Mending of Life* as it appears in Ms. cccc 236. See Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

²¹ Horstman would seem to belittle the work of Leland unjustly when he says (*op. cit.* II, *Introd.* xxxvi); "The list of his works in the old bibliographers (Leland, Pits, Tanner) are equally baseless and conjectural". Unfortunately I have not had access to any of these bibliographies but that of Leland.

²² Cf. *op. cit.*, II, *Introd.*, pp. xxxvi-xxxix.

²³ *The Mirroure of the blissed life, etc.*; and the *8 degrees of Humility*.

²⁴ *Regula Vivendi* might also refer to the *Mending of Life*.

treatise of Richard the Hermit beginning,"²⁵ etc.; and then as simply *Regula vivendi*); *The Mirroure of the blissed life of Jesus Christ*, "written in Latin by Bonaventure and translated as it is thought by Richard Hampool, an English Hermit,"²⁶ "*Stimulus Conscientiae, Anglicano metro per Hampole*" (again given under the regular English title *The Prick of Conscience*);²⁷ "R. Hampole's treatise called *The Prick of Love*,"²⁸ "R. H. Meditations concerning the Passions of Christ,"²⁹ "Eight degrees of Humility."³⁰ The last reference I am not able to identify; but it bears a striking resemblance to the title of one of the pieces in Ms. F. 172,³¹ viz: *The Duodecim gradus humilitatis*. The only title recorded and described by Wells³² which might possibly refer to this piece is *The Twelve Profits of Tribulation*. But a comparison of this piece as printed by Horstman³³ with our *Duodecim gradus humilitatis* shows that the two are wholly different.

III. PECULIARITIES OF THE MENDING OF LIFE

A comparison of this version of *The Mending of Life* with Richard Misyn's³⁴ fifteenth century translation, as printed by Har-

²⁵ See above, p. 8.

²⁶ This piece is described as being in a "Ms. Scholae apud Conventriam".

²⁷ In her careful and scholarly study Miss Hope Allen (*op. cit.*) examines all the claims for Rolle's authorship of this poem and decides against it.

²⁸ This is possibly another title for *The Form of Living* (cf. Allen, *op. cit.* p. 128); but a free verse translation of St. Edmund's *Speculum Vitae*, which was edited by Horstman for the Early English Text Society in 1892 (*orig. ser.* vol. 98, pp. 268-297), also bears the title *The Prikke of love, or The Spore of Love*.

²⁹ See *op. cit.* II, *Introd.* xl.

³⁰ It seems probable that the "N 114, Richard Rolle de Hampole, Commentaria in Psalmos, Anglice, Fol. 248", above noticed, was the English Psalter of Rolle of Hampole. Miss A. C. Paus (*op. cit. Introd.* p. xxxix, footnote) insists that "Dr. Horstman is wrong in stating that R. Rolle's English Prose Commentary is substantially a translation of his Latin Psalter l. c. II. p. xxxii); they are independent works, neither based on the other". Middendorff (p. 45) also says that "the Latin Commentary is not the basis of the English, although there can be no doubt that both versions are the work of Richard of Hampole".

³¹ F. 44-46.

³² *Op. cit.* pp. 457 and 839.

³³ *Op. cit.* II, pp. 45-60.

³⁴ All that is certainly known about Richard Misyn's life and personality is to be found in the colophons of his translations of Rolle's *De Emendatione Vitae* and *De Incendio Amoris*, as printed by Harvey from Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Ms. 236. For the *Mending of Life* this is as follows: "Thus endys the xii chapetyrs of Richarde Hampole, into englyse translate be frere Richard Misyn, to informacioun of Cristyn sauls. Anno domini Millimo 1434." (See Harvey, *op. cit.*, p. 131). The record at the end of *The Fire of Love* is rather more specific: Explicit liber de Incendio Amoris Ricardi Hampole heremite, translatus in Anglicum instanciis domine Margarete Heslyngton, recluse, per fratrem Ricardum Misyn, sacre theologie bachalareum, tunc Priorem Lyncolniensem, ordinis carmelitarum, Anno domini 1435, in festo translationis sancti Martini Episcopi, quod est iiii nonas Julii, per dictum fratrem Ricardum Misyn scriptum et correctum. (Harvey, p. 104). A shorter colophon of the same import is found at the end of Book I of *The Fire of Love* (Harvey, p. 68): Explicit liber primus Incendii Amoris Ricardi Hampole heremite, translatus a latino in Anglicum per fratrem Ricardum Misyn heremitam et ordinis carmelitarum ac sacre theologie bachalareum, Anno domini Millesimo 1435. For other doubtful references to Misyn, see Harvey, *Introd.* p. xiv. Leland *op. cit.* II, p. 473, seems to refer to the same Misyn at the end of cap. xxxiv, De Thoma Bradolego: Lubet hic aliquid adjungere, quod vicem coronidis suppleat, David Chiroburgus, Carmelita, vir in theologiae cognitone clarus, et Richardus Mesinus, ejusdem sectas, theologus, Bradolegum praecesserunt: uterque episcopus Dromorensis, ille Luddoloci, hic Eboraci inter Carmelitas sepultus. Cf. also Comper, *op. cit.*, *Pref.* pp. 41-43.

vey, shows considerable, sometimes striking, differences. And these are due not only to peculiarities of dialect and to later origin for the Worcester version, but also perhaps to a different translator. But it is not possible for me at this time, as noted above, to give any really justifiable opinion on this question. The evidence I have at hand would seem to indicate that the Worcester translation of the *De Emendatione Vitae* is not to be identified with that of Richard Misyn. As compared with Misyn's version, that of the Worcester manuscript is considerably later, in a different dialect, much more modern in style, and contains frequent additions, as well as some omissions, all for the most part of minor importance. That is to say, the two versions are identical in so far as the expression of the main thoughts and ideas of the original is concerned. Their differences are mainly linguistic and stylistic, such as would be expected in the work of two different but almost contemporaneous translators of a common original. It is also not improbable that the two versions will be found to show some other differences of a doctrinal, religious kind. This question can only be definitely settled by a comparison of these two with all the other English versions, and by determining whether they both had the same Latin original.

IV. OTHER WORKS OF RICHARD ROLLE IN MS. F. 172

There is at least one other genuine work of Richard Rolle in the Worcester Cathedral Library Ms. F. 172, viz. the fragmentary version of the Psalter in Latin and English, preceded by a general prolog and five shorter prologs to the five Books of Wisdom. The Worcester Cathedral Library contains two other manuscript versions of Rolle's Psalter: F. 158 and F. 166. According to Hamilton⁸⁵ F. 166—"F. 158, of which it is probably a copy," and belongs to the seventeenth century. F. 158 is not dated by Hamilton; it is recorded as, "Psalterium Latine et Anglice, cum glossa Anglicana ad singulos versus [Richardi Rolle de Hampole]." The prolog begins: "Greet plente of gostly comfort and joye in God", and the English text has the beginning: "Blisseful man the whiche geode not," etc., and the text ends with the words: "and setteth us in the joye of heuene." These few words seem to show that the version of the Psalms contained in F. 158 and that of F. 172 are based upon a common original. Hamilton says of the F. 172 translation: "Evidently this version and the first prologue are substantially Hampole's, though this Ms. and F. 158 do not correspond word for

⁸⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 88 and p. 94.

word."³⁶ The F. 172 version omits entirely the commentary which incorporates the English translation in Bramley's reprint of the Psalter, and which apparently exists in the versions of Worc. Cath. Libr. Mss. F. 158 and F. 166;³⁷ it simply gives first the Latin and then the English, with a considerable amount of ornamental flourishes and colors to the capitals at the beginning of both chapters and verses.

The following reprint of the several prologs, and of Ps. i, xxiii, and lxxii, will furnish a good basis of comparison with the general prolog and the corresponding Psalms of Bramley's edition.³⁸

1. GENERAL PROLOG TO THE PSALTER³⁹

Just before the heading (f.166), "Here bigynneth a prolog vpon the psautier," there is a paragraph designating the church festivals which all English Christians should observe: "Thiese bien the feestis whiche we owen to observe and kepe", which closes with the date of composition: "Written Anno Domini Milesimo ccccxlviij"; this is possibly the date of the Ms. itself. Then the prolog proceeds: "Grete habundance of gostly comfort and joie in god cometh in to the hertis of hem that seyn or syngen devoutly thiese psalmes in praiseng of Jhesu Crist. Thei droppen swetnes in mannes soule and holden delite in their hertis and thoughtis, and tenden their willis with the fvyre of love, makyng hem hoot in charite and brennyng withynne of love, and faire and semely to Cristes eyen. And thiese that lasten in devocioun thurgh thiese psalmes, the[i] mown be raised into contemplacioun, love and myrth of hevene. The song of psalmes chasith fiendis, exciteth aungels to our help; it doeth away synne, it qwemyth god, it (f.166^b) en-

³⁶ Hamilton's descriptions of the Mss. of the Worc. Cath. Libr. are not always reliable (see above, p. 6, footnote *) in matters of detail. He would hardly have made the statement (p. 98) that the F. 172 fragmentary version of Rolle's Psalter ends with "Ps. 83, 18", if he had examined the Ms. closely. It really ends with the 19th verse of Psalm 72 (Ps. 73, 19, of St. James version).

³⁷ See above p. 12.

³⁸ See *op. cit.*, p. 3. ff. There is a noticeable resemblance between Rolle's version and other middle English translations of the Psalms. This may be illustrated to some degree by quoting the first verse of Ps. xxiii: 1. *The West-Midland Psalter* (early 14th Cent.; ed. Bulbring, EETS, 1891, cf. Emerson, *A Middle English Reader*, pp. 101, 277): "Our Lord governeth me, and nothyng shal defailen me; in the stede of pasture he sett me ther." 2. *Rolle's Psalter* (Bramley p. 83): "Lord governs me and nathynge sall me want; in sted of pasture thare he me sett." 3. *The Wycliffite Psalms* (Forshall and Madden. *The Wycliffite Versions of the Holy Bible*. Oxford, 1850, vol. II, p. 758): "The Lord governeth me, and no thing to me shal lacke; in the place of leawe where he me ful sette." It should be said in passing that Forshall and Madden's "later version" of the Psalms, printed (*op. cit.* vol. II) from a fifteenth century Ms. ("Old Roy, Libr. Brit. Mus. 1 C. 8," see *op. cit.* vol. I, *Preface*, pp. xxxiv-xxxv) parallel with their "earlier version" is except in the matter of dialect, identical with the Worc. Cath. Libr. F. 172 version. And if Richard Rolle was the author of the latter, which seems almost certain, then he was of course the author of the "later" so-called Wycliffite version,—which would accordingly be the earlier instead of the later version. For the Worc. version see p. 19.

³⁹ Thirty-three Mss. of this work (Paves, *op. cit.*, *Introd.* p. xxxiv), besides the three of the Worc. Cath. Library collection, are known to be in existence. Of these fifteen were known to and partially described by Bramley in his edition (*op. cit.* *Introd.*, pp. xx-xxiv). Cf. Middendorff pp. 22-24, who argues (p. 21; cf. Paves, *Introd.* pp. xxix-xl) that Rolle completed his *Commentary on the Psalms* about 1330.

formyth parfitnes. It doeth away and distroieth al noysaunce and angres of the soule; it bryngith to man desires of hevene and dispite of erthly thynges.

Sothly this shyneng booke, saide devoutly of hem that bien in cleene life, is a chosen song bfore god, as a lamp lightnyng our lif, hele of a sike herte that coveitith to be helid; honey to a bitter soule that laungwisshith in veray penaunce. Dignite of gostly persones, tunge of prevy vertues, whiche leedith the prowde to mekenes, and kynges to poore men it makith vndirlowtyng; it leedith the envious to parfit love, the wrathful to paciens and suffraunce, the covetous and the avarous to largenes for hevenly reward; the slowthful to devocioun and lust to travaille for desire of hevenly joye, the gloton to abstynence and mesure of mete and drynk, the lecherous to chas-tite and cleene livyng, nurisshyng chieldren with holynesse.

In these psalmes is moche fairnes of vndirstondyng and⁴⁰ medicynable wordis, that this booke is clepid sarcyne⁴¹ enclosed, weele enseald, paradise ful of al goode applis; now it is with chosen lore and techyng of vertues, thurghout ful set, troubled and stoonny soulis it bryngith to cliere and pesibil lif; now amonestyng to fordo synnes with tearis of eyen, with wepyng and sorowe of herte of forthynkkyng; now bihotyng to rightwise men joy, now manasyng helle peyne to wikked men.

The song is this that deliteth the eeris of goddis lovers, techyng their soulis to have delite in god. For it kyndelith therein devout devocioun of aungels song, whom we mown nat heere, slepyng in synne. And he that hath nat delite in sayeng of thie psalmes may suppose that he is an alien fro veray lif.

O wonderful swetnesse, the whiche wexith nat sowre thurgh the corrupcioun of this wrecchid world, but evermore lastyng and wexeng in grace! All gladnese and delite of this erthly vanite vanysshith and at the last torneth to nought; but the lenger tyme that this swetnes lastith, the more it wexeth and althermost agenst goode mennes dieng whan love of Crist is most parfite.

This booke is clepid the psautier, the whiche name it hath of an instrument of musike that in Ebru is clepid Noblin,⁴² in Greeke psautrie of psalme; that in Inglish is of tunge;⁴³ and it is of x cordis

⁴⁰ Ms. of; Ms. Trin. Coll. Dubl. A. 1. 10 (late 14th cent.) also has *of* (Forshall and Madden i, 30); but Bram has *and*.

⁴¹ Apparently for *gardine*, as we find in Bram.; and the Latin prolog (cf. Middelndorf, p. 28) justifies *garden*: "ut merito hic illud Salomonis aptetur, quod dixit in cantic canticorum; 'Hortus conclusus et fons signatus paradisus plenus omnium pomorum'."

⁴² Bram.: "nabulum"; also Latin orig.

⁴³ Bram: "is to touche"; *Lat.* quod est tangere. Ms. Trin. Coll. Dubl. contains a piece—No. 2 according to Forshall and Madden (I, *Introd.* p. ix f.)—entitled 'Remarks in the nature of a Prologue on the Psalter', in which this passage is reproduced near the beginning thus: "Wherefore couenabli this book is seid the booke of solitarie spechis; it is also seid a sauter, the whiche it tooke of a musik instrument that Ebreuli is clepid noblun; Greekly a sauter of this Greek word psallym, that is touchyng (but further on in the Dubl. Ms. piece (*op. cit.* pp. 39-40) where Rolle's Prolog to the Psalter is quoted word for word without comment, we find the *tunge* of our Ms. used: "that in Ebreu is clepid noblum, in Greek sautrie, of psalme, that in Inglish is of tunge", etc.); Latynly it is seid an orgoun that is of ten cordis, and fro the ouer part yeueth soun bi the touch of hondis" (p. 37). The Mss. Harl. 1666 and Cambr. Univ. Libr. Mm. 2. 15, from which Forshall and Madden actually took the General Prologue (Harl. 1666 to chap. xv, p. 57; Mm. 2. 15 to end, p. 60), both apparently omit all of Rolle's Prolog as printed by Bramley.

and yewith the sowne from evereithur thurgh touchyng of hand. Also this booke techith to kepe the x comaundementis and to worche nat for erthly thynges, but only for hevenly joy that is above; and so yeve sowne from hevne, where our love shuld be, at the touchyng of our hand; that is, in triewe worchyng after Cristis biddyng, whan al that we don, we do it for Cristis love.

Also this booke is departed in thries fifty psalmes, in the whiche the thre estatys of cristen mennes religioun bien signified: the first in veray penaunce, the other in rightwisnes, the thridde in (f.167) praisyng of endles lif. The first fifty bien ended in *Miserere mei deus*, and other in *miserordiam et iudicium* [*cantabo*];⁴⁴ the thridde in *Omnis spiritus laudet dominum*.

This booke of al holy writ is most vsed in holi chirches service, for cause that in it is perfeccioun of divyne paygne, for it conteigneth shortly that that other bookes drawn longly, that is to say, of thold testament and of the newe. Therin bien descreived the meedis of goode men and the peynes of yvel men, the techyng of veray penaunce, and the wexyng in rightwisnes of lif of actief triewe men, the whiche passen to hevne; the perfeccioun of holy men, the meditacioun of hem that bien contemplatief, and the grete joie of contemplacioun, the hiest that maybe in man livyng in body and feelyng. Also this booke shewith what vertues takith away from mannes soule and what penaunce restorith.

This scripture is clepid booke of ympnes of Crist; ympne is praisyng of god with devoute praieng. To an ympne fallen thre thynges: praisyng of god, joieng of hertely thought, entierly thynkyng of god his love. Devoute praier is a grete gladnes of a mannes thought of tastyng thyng in endles joie, brestyng out in voice of praisyng. It is weele cleped booke of ympnes, for it techith vs to love god with glad chiere and makyng myrth thurgh softnyng our soulis, thurgh hope nat only in herte, but also with voice pleasyng to Crist and techyng hem that bien vnkonnynge.

The matier of this booke is Crist and his spouse, that is, holichirche; either eche rightwis mannes soule; thentent is to conferme men that bien defouled with synne of old ADAM to cristen mennes lif thurgh grace of newe Adam, that is, IHESU CRIST. The matier of this booke or this loore is suche, that sumtyme it spekith of Crist in his godhede, sumtyme in his manhede, [sumtyme]⁴⁵ in that he vsith the voice of his seruauntis. Also of holichirche he spekith in thre maners: sumtyme in the persone of cristen men, sumtyme of yvel men, sumtyme of cursed men, the whiche bien in holichirche bi body nat by cleene thought; bi name nat bi goode deede; in nombre nat by merite.

In this work I see ther no straunge Inglissh, but that that is esiest and most comune, and suche as is most like to the latyn; so that they that knowen nat the latyn, bi the Inglissh thei may come to many latyn wordis. In the translacioun I folowe the lettre asmoche as I

⁴⁴ Supplied from Bram. Also omitted by Ms. Trin. Coll. Dubl. A. 1, 10.

⁴⁵ Supplied from Bram. where the word is "umstunt." Ms. Trin. Coll. Dubl. also omits.

may; and ther I fynde no propre Inglissh, I folowe the wit of the wordis; so that thei that shuln rede it dar nat dreede erryng.⁴⁶

Here endith oo prolog of the psautier and bigynneth another on the same booke, and next that suen five prologs (f.167^b) on [eche] of the five bookes of wisdom.⁴⁷

2. PROLOGS TO THE FIVE BOOKS OF WISDOM

This booke comprehendith al thold and the newe testament and techith plainly the mysteries of the Trinite and of Cristes incarnacioun, passioun, risyng ageyn, and stieng in to hevene and sendyng doun of the holigost, prechyng the gospel; and the comyng of Antecrist and the general doome of Crist, and the glorie of chosen men to blisse, and the pervers of hem that shuln be dampned in helle; and oft rehcerith the stories of thold testament and brynggith in the keypyng of goddis hestis and love of enemyes. No booke in thold testament is harder to vndirstonde to vs latyns;⁴⁸ for our letter discordith moche fro the Ebrew, and many doctours taken litel heede to the lettre, but al to the gostly vndirstandynge. Weele were hym that cowde wele vndirstande the psautier and kepe it in his lvyng and saie it devoutly and convict Jewis thereby; for many men that seien [it] vndeoutly and liven out of charite lien fowle on theymsilf to god and blasphememen hym whan thei cryen it out ful lowde to mennes eeris in the chirche. Therfor god yeve grace to vs to live wele in charite and say it devoutly and vnderstande it triewly, and to teche it openly to cristen men and Jewis and bryng hem therby to our cristen feith and brennyng charite.

⁴⁶ In Bram. the conclusion of this prolog is quite different: "In expounynge I fologh haly doctours, for it may come in some envyous man hand that knawes nought what he sould say, that will say that I wist nought what I sayd, and swa doe harm til hym and til other, if he dispise the worke that is profyttable for hym and other." Middendorff (*Studien ueber Richard Rolle von Hampole*, Magdeburg, 1888, p. 25 ff.) has shown that the Commentary of the Psalter as printed by Bramley, but omitted in the Worc. F. 172 version, is a translation (by Rolle) with some omissions and additions of Peter Lombard's *Comment in Psalmos*. See also Paues; *op. cit.*, pp. xxxvi ff., who remarks (p. xxxviii) that "the *Prologue* is based on Augustine, Cassiodorus, the *Glossa ordinaria* by Walafrid Strabo and on Peter Lombard. Only towards the end the Hermit's own thoughts appear." The 1904 edition of Miss Paues's book omits the entire 'Introduction' (or rather, substitutes a new and wholly different one) of the earlier (1902) edition.

⁴⁷ The following "five prologs" may be in one or several of the 33 known Mss. of Rolle's Psalter, but there is no reference to them by Middendorff or Bramley or Horstman or Miss Paues. They may or may not be the work of Rolle of Hampole. The "General Prologue" of the Wycliffite versions, while omitting the first (i. e. Rolle's) prolog to the Psalter (except as printed in a footnote from Ms. Trin. Coll. Dubl. A. 1. 10), contains the other short prologs in their entirety just as they appear in the Worc. F. 172 version, beginning (near the bottom of p. 37) with the words: "The Sautir comprehendith al the elde and newe testament," and concluding (near the bottom of p. 41) as follows: "If this booke be wel vndirstoden, it is profitable bothe to gostly gouernours and bodily lordis, and iustis and comyns also." The two versions show a remarkable similarity, even to the minutest details, in the matters of language and style; though they are in different dialects, apparently, and the Worc. version seems to be considerably later. Forshall and Madden record and describe (*I. Introd.* xxxvii) four other Mss. (Univ. Coll. Oxf. G. 3, Trin. Coll. Dubl. A. 1. 10, Corp. Ch. Coll. Cambr. 147, Univ. Libr. Cambr. Kk. 1. 8) as containing the entire "Prologue", which they collated "*verbatim*" for their edition. The editors also noticed (p. 40) the connection between the Psalter part of the "General Prologue" and Richard Rolle's prolog to the Psalter. After printing the Trin. Coll. Dubl. version of the latter part of the "Prologue" in a long footnote (pp. 37-40), they say: "The last portion of these remarks on the Psalter is borrowed, with some variations, from Hampole's Preface to his Commentary on the Psalms." But they have nothing to say about the origin of the short prologs to the five books of Wisdom, though their collations (printed in the footnotes) show that at least one of the Mss. designates these prologs distinctly. For instance, Lincoln Coll. Ms. 15 (which contains only the first eleven chapters of the "Prologue") has "Here . . . bigynneth a prolog on Ecclesiastes; Here . . . bygynneth the prolog on Song of Songis, etc. (Cf. p. 41, footnotes).

⁴⁸ Might well be applied to Rolle. Cf. conclusion of Prolog above.

The Proverbis of Parablis of SALAMON techen men to live iustly to god and man. ECCLESIASTES techith men to forsake and sette at nought al the goodis in this world and to dreede god and kepe his hestis. The Song of Songis techith men to sette al their herte in the love of god and of neighborhs; and so to do all their busyness to brynge men in charite and saluacioun bi gode ensample and triew prechyng and wilful suffryng of peyne and deth, if neede be. The Proverbis of Salamon speken moche of wis .am and kepyng of goddis heestis and commendying of triewe techyng and in reprovyng of fals techyng. Also the Proverbis treaten moche of rightfulness and iust doomes and governaunce and of punysshing of advourtie and other falsnes, and commendith moche iust lordis and subgettis and reprovith strongly wrongful lordis and rebel subgettis. Also the Proverbis techen derkly the misteries of Crist and of holichirche and techen moche wisdam and prudence both for soule and body. Therfor lordis and juges and comuners also, and namly priestis, shulden studie wele this booke and rule theymsilf therby to saluacioun of body and soule.

Ecclesiastes is a ful subtil booke, for Salamon spekith in many persones and concludith their intent and sentence, nat in approvyng the sentence of fleshly men that praisen more bodily goodis (f.168) and lustis of the body than heavenly goodis and likyng of vertues, and dampneth many errours of worldly men, and shewith that al is vanite til men come to the dreede of god and kepyng of his heestis. Therfor men must bien wele ware how thei vndirstonden Salamon in this booke that thei approeven non errour and dampne no triewth for mysconceivyng of Salamons wordis in this booke.

The Song of Songes touchen derkly the state of the synagog [from the] goyng out of Egipt til to Cristes incarnacioun and passioun. And thanne thoo songes touchen the staate of Cristes chirche and of the synagog in thend of the world and treaten hily of love to god and neighborh also. And this booke is so subtil to vndirstonde that Jewis ordeyneden that noman shulde studie [it], no but he were of xxx yeere witte, to vndirstonde the gostly privitees of this booke. For sum of this booke seemyth to fleshly men to shewe vncleene love of lechery, where it tellith high gostly love and grete privites of Crist and of his chirche. Therfor men moten be ful wele ware to conceive wele the wordis of the holigost in this booke, and knowe whan Crist spekith to the chirche either to the synagog and whan the synagog spekith to god and whan the chirche spekith to Crist and whan god spekith to aungels, patriarkes, and prophetis and apostels; and whan these persones speken to the synagog either to the chirche either ayenward.

The Booke of Wisdom, though it be nat a booke of believe, techith moche rightwisnes and praisith wisdam and reproevith fleshly men for their fals bilieve and yvel livyng, and commendith moche iust men sad in believe and vertuous livyng, and touchith moche of Cristis incarnacioun, his manhede and godhede toguyder, and

dampneth gretely idolatrie and fals worshipping of idols and fals goddis.

Thowgh Ecclesiastici be no booke of believe, it teechith moche wisdom and prudence for soule and body and hath moche the sentence of Proverbis and comaundith men to thynke and speke of goddis heestis and for to drede god and love hym; and ever have mynde of deth and of the grete doome to kepe men out of synne and in parfite love to god and man. Also it praiseth moche almes and goode praier and reprovith gretly extorciouns and wrong and fals oothis and fals mesures and fals weightis and al fraude, prevy and apert. At the last, it commendith goode men and herieth god that deliverith fro al perils. If this booke be wele vndirstande, it is profitable both to gostly governours and bodily lordis and justices and comunes also (f.168^b).

Here⁴⁹ bigynneth the psautier the whiche is comunely vsed to be rad in holichirche service. For it is a booke of grete deuocioun and of high gostly conceivyng, in whiche booke holy men fynden ful moche swetnesse and parfite vndirstondyng of gostly comfort. Also this booke shewith the meedis of iust men and the meedis of vniust men, the reward of everyman after his travaile.

3. PSALM I

Beatus⁵⁰ vir qui non abiit in consilio impiorum: et in via peccatorum non stetit, et in cathedra pestilencie non sedit. Blessid is the man that yeede nat in the counsaile of wicke men and stode nat in the wey of synners and sat nat in the chaiser of pestilence. Set in lege domini voluntas eius; et in lege eius meditabitur die ac nocte. But his wille is in the lawe of the lord: and he shal bethynke [in] the lawe of hym day and nyght. Et erit tanquam lignum quod plantatum est secus decursus aquarum: quod fructum suum dabit in tempore suo. And he shalbe as a tree the whiche is plantid bisides the rennynges of wattris, the whiche that shal yeve his fruyte in his tyme. Et folium eius non defluet: et omnia quecumque faciet prosperabuntur. And his leef shal nat fal down, and althynges whicheever he shal do shal have prosperite. Non sic impij non sic; set tanquam pulvis quem proicit ventus a facie terre. Nat so wicked men nat so; but thei bien as dust whiche the wynde castith away fro the face of the erthe. Ideo non resurgunt impij in iudicio: neque peccatores in consilio iustorum. Therfor wicked men risen nat ageyn in doome, neither synners in the counsail of iust men. Quoniam nouit dominus viam iustorum: et iter impiorum peribit. For the lord knowith the wey of iust men, and the wey of wicked men shal perisshe.

⁴⁹ Just as the prologs of the Five Books of Wisdom follow immediately after the General Prolog in the Ms., so the next short prolog is separated only by an unusually large capital letter, or ornamental figure, from them.

⁵⁰ The Latin of this version corresponds with remarkable closeness to that printed by Bramley. The punctuation of the Latin is that of the Ms.; that of the English has been modernized.

4. PSALM XXIII⁵¹

Dominus regit me et nichil michi deerit: in loco pascue ibi me collocauit. The lord governith me, and nothyng shal fayle to me in the place of pasture ther he hath sette me. Super aquam refleccionis educauit me: animam meam conuertit. He nurissed me on the water of refresshyng; he convertid my soule. Deduxit me super semitas iusticie: propter nomen suum. He ledde me furth on the pathis of rightfulness for his name. Nam et si ambulauero in medio vmbre mortis: non timebo mala: quoniam tu mecum es. For whi though I shal go in the myddis of the shadewe of death, I shal nat dreede vyels for thow art with me. Virga tua et baculus tuus: ipsa me consolata sunt. Thi yerd and thi staf thoe han comforted me. Parasti in conspectu meo mensam: aduersus eos qui tribulant me. Thow hast made redy to me a boorde in my sight agenst hem that troublen me. Inpinguasti in oleo capud meum: et calix meus inebrians quam preclarus est. Thow hast made fat myn heede with oile, and my cup fylling gretly is ful clier. Et misericordia tua subsequetur: omnibus diebus vite mee. And thi mercy shal sue me in al the daies of my lif. Et vt inhabitem in domo domini: in longitudinem dierum. And that I dwel in the hous of the lord in to the length of daies.

The Worcester version breaks off with the lxxii Psalm, 19th verse, which I give here in full.

5. PSALM LXXII (f. 213-213^b)

Quam bonus israel deus: hijs qui recto sunt corde. God of israel is ful goode to hem that bien of rightful herte. Mei autem pene moti sunt pedes: pene effusi sunt gressus mei. But my feete wern moeved almost, my steppis wern shed out almost. Quia zelaui super iniquos: pacem peccatorum videns. For I loved feruently on wicked men, seying the pees of synners. Quia non est respectus morti eorum: et firmamentum in plaga eorum. For biholdyng is nat to the deth of hem, stidefastenes in the woundes of hem. In labore hominum non sunt: et cum hominibus non flagella (f.213^b) buntur. Thei bien in the traualle of men and thei shuln nat be beten with men. Ideo tenuit superbia: operti sunt iniquitate et impietate sua. Therfor pride hield hem, thei wern hiled with their wickednes and vnfeithfulnesse. Prodiit quasi ex aipe (*sic* for adipe) iniquitas eorum: transierunt in affectum cordis. The wickednes of hem cam furth as of fatnes; thei yeeden in to the desire of herte. Cogitauerunt⁵² et locuti sunt nequiciam, iniquitatem in excelso locuti sunt. Thei thoughten and spaken weiwardnes, thei spaken wickednes anhigh. Posuerunt in celo⁵⁴ os suum: et lingua

⁵¹ This is xxii in Bramley. In Ms. F. 172 the different Psalms are numbered distinctly on the margin opposite the beginning of each Psalm. On the double numbering of the early editions the Psalms see Skeat's *The Books of Job, Psalms, Proverbs, etc., according to the Wycliffite Version*. Oxford, 1881; quoted by Bülbring, *The Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter* (EETS, No. 97, 1891), Preface pp. x-xi.

⁵² Bram. *cognitauerunt*.

⁵⁴ Bram. *celum*.

eorum transiuit in terra. Thei puttiden her mowth in to hevene, and their tunge passid in erth. Ideo conuertetur populus meus hic: et dies pleni inuenientur in eis. Therfor my people shalbe conuerted here, and ful daies shal be founde in hem. Et dixerunt quomodo scit deus: et si est sciencia in excelso. And thei saiden how woote god, and whether konnyng is anhigh. Ecce ipsi peccatores et habundantes in seculo: optinuerunt diuicias. Loo, thilke synners and havyng habundaunce in the world hielden richessis. Et dixi ergo sine causa iustificauit cor meum: et laui inter innocentes manus meas. And I saide therfor withouten cause I iustified myn herte and wasshid myn handis among innocentis. Et fui flagellatus tota die: et castigacio mea in matutinis. And I was beten alday, and my chastyng was in morowtides. Si dicebam narrabo sic: ecce nacionem filiorum tuorum reprobaui. If I saide I shal tel thus, loo I reproveid the nacioun of thi sones. Existimabam vt cognoscerem: hoc labor est ante me. I gesside that I shuld knowe this: trauaile is bfore me. Donec intrem in sanctuarium dei: et intelligam in nouissimis eorum. Til I entre in to the sanctuarie of god and vndirstande in the last thynges of hem. Verumptamen propter dolos posuisti eis: deiecisti eos dum alleuarentur. Nethes for guyles thow hast put to hem, thow castidest hem down while thei wern reised. Quomodo facti sunt in desolacionem: subito defecerunt: perierunt propter iniquitatem suam. How bien thei made in to desolacioun; the faileden sodainly, thei perisshiden for their wickidnes (the last word written on lower margin as the catch-word for the next page).

The Worcester Ms. breaks off with this the 19th verse of the 72nd Psalm (corresponding to the Psalter as printed by Bramley in chapter and verse-numbers.)

V. PIECES POSSIBLY BELONGING TO ROLLE'S SCHOOL.

The Ms. F. 172 contains besides these genuine works of Richard Rolle several pieces, all of which may have been his work or that of less noted followers, or of members of the Hampole school of writers. I have been able to find little information about any of the pieces, except the last (in the Ms. and in the order they are here considered). Hamilton's descriptions do not give much help, and that little is rather confusing. And none of the pieces but the last have been recorded and placed by Wells. Nor does Horstman reprint any one of them or say anything about any title or piece, which seems to bear any noticeable resemblance to any of them. I take it therefore that at least three of them are new, that is, they belong among the large body of Middle English works which still await publication. The last of these pieces at least, and the longest, would seem to deserve careful re-editing for its own sake.

- The first three pieces are rather short productions and they may

be given the following titles: the first (f.16-16^b), *The Origin of Tithe Giving*, the second (f.33^b-44), *A Treati agenst Gostly Temptaciouns*, socalled in the beginning,⁵⁵ and the third (f.44-46^b), *Duodecim Gradus Humilitatis*.⁵⁶ I am not able to say whether either of these pieces (or all of them) was the work of Richard Rolle. There is no reference to him anywhere in them, and no attribution of authorship. But the subjects of them all and the manner of treatment are not dissimilar to the genuine work of Rolle. Indeed, Hamilton has inadvertently quoted⁵⁷ the first words of the first piece as the "Incipit" of *The Mending of Life*. In order to show that this is erroneous and that the piece is entirely independent of Rolle's *Libel of the Amendement of Mannes Lif*, I print it in full in this connection. It seems to be partly canonical and partly apocryphal in origin, the writer apparently confusing Adam and Moses in his discussion sometimes.

1. THE ORIGIN OF TITHE GIVING

It was wont to be doutod of sum whi tithes bien yeven to holichirche.⁵⁸ It is in reproof of al wikked and cursed spirites of al the feithful men of triewe cristen people tithes bien yoven in to holichirche. For whi he, the commentor of his cursid fraude and guyle, was the tithe in the nombre of aungels in hevene. But for whi that he stode nat in triewth, therfor the tith fil; therfor the nombre fallen of cursed spirites. God wil nat the tith part of hevene to be voide and idel, hath formed man of the slyme of therth, to whom he hath yeve vndirstandynge, reason, memorie, prudence, justice, strength, and temperaunce; and in to the last, Feith, Hope, and Charite.

Therfor he so formed in the vale of Ebron god put hym in Paradyce of pleasure and put a slumber in hym. Therfor while he slumbered god toke oon of the ribbis of Adam and made therof a womman and helper like to hym. The lord therfor comaundid him as to eete of euery tree in Paradyce (f.16^b); forsooth of tree of science and knowyng good and evil thei shuld nat touch.⁵⁹ As it is knowen of many Adam disceiued bi the womman, the womman disceiued bi the serpent, naked hidden himself; to whom merciful god makynge pilched cotes whiche we caln peryzomata and yave vnto hem

⁵⁵ But it concludes with simply "Explicit", not "Explicit A Treati, etc."

⁵⁶ We have on f. 44, immediately after the "Explicit" of *A Treati agenst Gostly Temptaciouns*, the words "Hic incipiunt duodecim gradus humilitatis".

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.* p. 96.

⁵⁸ According to Kent (*Israel's Laws and Legal Precedents*. By Charles Foster Kent. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1907, p. 231, footnote), "The tithe, as a rate of taxation, was known among many early peoples, including the Babylonians . . . Egyptians . . . Sabaeans . . . Carthaginians, and Syrians. . . . There is no trace, however, of the sacred tithe in the oldest Hebrew codes. It appears first in Northern Israel in the days of Amos, 4th; but the law of Deut. 14: 22-27 suggests that in the days of Josiah the institution had long been established."

⁵⁹ *Gen.* ii, 16-17.

and drof hem out of Paradice. Therfor Adam gon ageyn in to vale of Ebron wher he was first formed, bigan to pray god to set hym a lawe with which he myght hereafter resiste and withstande the cursed spirit. Than god comaunded hem that of al thynges that he shuld yeve vnto hem resident with their labour, he shuld take the tithe part, as wel of bestis as of fruytes, and to brynge and bere vpon the high mounteynes, ther to brenne their tithes of fruytes; and the tithe beast ther to be brend and his bloode shed.

Therfor Adam bigan as a prudent and a witty man to inquire and aske of the lord what and for whi suche tithes brent and bloode of beestis so shed shuld signifie.⁶⁰ To whom god saide: "In these tithes so brent and the bloode of beestis so shed the cursed spirite shal be confounded, whiche tith hath falle. And in the bloode now saide is the bloode of the chieldren of god whiche is to be shed after into remissioun of synnes, be it vnderstand."

Willyng therfor Adam more certainly to knowe what this maner act shuld signifie, asked, "what signifieth the mount? what the fuyre? and what the fume or the smoke?" To whom god saide: "I am the Mount of al Mountis; in me and bi me whiche thow art to do, do thow, and prosperously and mirily thei shuln procede. The fuyre whiche brennyth the tithes is the vengeance of hem whiche this holythyng wil nat observe and kepe. Forsoth ther shuln com many of posterite whiche wiln defoule this precept and comaundement, and as this fuyre brennyth the tith, so tho that bien negligent and wiln nat knowe my comaundement, with the cursed spirit whiche with tith fil from the place of tithes shuln bien brent with fier inextinguible or vnquencheable. The fume or smoke, eftsones to high places ascendyng to be felt, signifieth the deuocioun of al goode Cristen people whiche with goode herte yeven their tithes. Therfor the bloode of beestis shed shewith the bloode of my chieldren which is to be shed in thend of the worldis in their redempcioun and of their posterite folowyng me." To whom Adam eftsones saide: "How long shal this thyng stande thus to be don?" To whom god saide: The space of vmcccxxv⁶¹ yeeris. That yeeris done and ronne, I shal sende my sone in to the world born of a womman, made vnder the lawe as thoo that bien vnder the lawe, he shal redeme and ageynbie."

The title and first two paragraphs of the second piece run:

2. A TREATI AGENST GOSTLY TEMPTACIOUNS.

"Oure merciful lord god Ihesu chasticith his chieldren and sufferith hem to be tempted for many profitable skillis and to their profit. And therfor ther shuld no man ne womman be hevy, ne

⁶⁰ The Deuteronomic codes according to Kent (*op. cit.*), levied the tithe only "on the products of the field and olive and vineyard"; but "from 1 Sam. 8: 15, 17, it appears that a tithe of the products of the fields and vineyards and flocks was also levied as a tax by Solomon or later Israelitish kings."

⁶¹ I do not know the origin of the medieval idea that a definite number of years must elapse between the creation of Adam and the birth of Christ. The number of years varies considerably in different English poems.

sory for no temptacioun; but rather be glad and joyful. For seynt JAME the apostel seith and techith vs that we shuld have veray grete joye whan we bien tempted with greate temptaciouns; for as gold is purged and pured bi fuyre, and as a knyght in hard batails is preved goode but if he suffre hymself to be overcome, right so is a man or womman bi temptacioun preved goode bifore god but if he lete hymself to be overcome; that is to say, but if he consent therto wilfully bi deliberacioun. Sothely whan a man or a woman is sharply tempted, he may than hope of grete vertu."

The Treati is divided by means of large, ornamental initial letters and by spacing into seventeen different paragraphs, which are however not numbered in the Ms.

3. THE TWELVE DEGREES OF HUMILITY

After the rubric the third piece begins in the following manner: "Seynt Gregory the doctour saith that without mekenes it is vnlieful to truste of foryevenes of thi syne. Also the same doctour saith, that he that gadrith vertues without mekenes is like to a man that berith dust in his open hand in a grete wynde. For the wynde berith ever the dust awe; so it is bi hym that is nat meeke."

The fourth and last of the Rolle-like pieces of Ms. F. 172 is much the longest of them all, beginning at the top of f.72^b and concluding on f.116. This piece has in the Ms. the title or rubric:

4. THAT THE INNER HAVYNG OF A MAN SHULD BE LIKE TO THE VTTER.⁶²

After this come the words "Venite exultemus domino" in a different and later hand. According to Hamilton,⁶³ this is "Book I only" of the well-known *Ladder (or Scale) of Perfection*, usually attributed⁶⁴ to Walter Hilton, who "is said to have been to the spiritual life of the late fourteenth century something of what Rolle was to that of the earlier part of the century".⁶⁵ The complete work is in three books, and judging by the length of the first book as we have it in the Worcester Ms., it must be a very extensive produc-

⁶² This may be intended as the title or subject of the first chapter of the piece. The piece was described by me some years ago (cf. Hulme, *op. cit.*) under the title, *The Book of Contemplation, or The Divine Cloud of Unknowing*; and I am not now able to say certainly whether *The Scale of Perfection* and *The Book of Contemplation* are distinctly different works. Wells's references (pp. 460 and 480) would seem to imply that they are.

⁶³ *Op. cit.* pp. 96-97.

⁶⁴ Wells says (p. 460) "apparently certainly Hilton's".

⁶⁵ See *ibid.*

tion.⁶⁶ This book I contains ninety-three chapters, each of which after chapter ii, is clearly marked and supplied with its own title in our Ms. The popularity of *The Scale* in the middle ages is attested by the fact that it has been preserved to us, in spite of its length, in such a large number of manuscripts. Wells specifies nine manuscripts in London, three in Oxford, two in Cambridge, and says there are "others."⁶⁷

The first chapter discusses somewhat generally the 'Active Life' and the 'Contemplative Life', as the following reprint of chap. i of the Worc. version shows⁶⁸:

Gostly brother in Jhesu Crist I prairie the that in the calling whiche our lord hath callid the, to his seruice thou hold the paid and stond stidefastly therin, travailyng busily with al the myghtes of thi soule bi grace of Jhesu Crist, for to fulfil in sothfastnes of goode livyng the state whiche thou hast taken the to in likenes and in seemyng. And as thou hast forsake the world as a deed man turned to our lord in the sight of men, right to that thyn herte myght be as it were deed to al erthly lustis and dreedis, turned holy to our lord Jhesu Crist. For wite thou weele a bodily turnyng to god without the herte folowyng is but a figure and a likenes of vertues and no sothfastnes. Wherfor a wrecched man or womman is he or she that levith al inwarde kepyng of hymself and shapith hym withouten oonly a fourme and a likenes of holynes in habite and speche and in bodily werkis biholdyng other mennes deedis and demaunde their defaultis wenyng hymself to be ought whan he is right nought and so biguyleth hymself. Do thou nat so but turne thyn herte with thi body principaly to god and shape the withyn to his likenes bi mekenes and charite and other gostly vertues; and than art thou turned triewly to him. I say nat that thou so lightly on the first day may be turned vnto hym in thy soule bi fulhede of vertues as thou maist be shit in an howse, but that thou shuld knowe that the cause of thi bodily shittynge is that thou myght the lightlier come to gostly enclosyng. And as thi body is enclosed from bodily conuersacioun of men, right so that thyn herte myght be enclosed from loves lustis and dreedis of al erthly thynges. And that thou might the better come therto I shal tel the in this litel wrytyng as me thynkith. Thou shalt vndirstonde that in holichirche bien two maner of lives as seynt Gregorie saith in the whiche cristen

⁶⁶ As no edition of *The Scale of Perfection* is accessible to me, I must rely upon the descriptions of it by Hamilton and Wells. It has been printed several times: by De Worde in 1494, 1519, and 1525; by Pynson in 1506; by Dom Serenus Cressy in 1659 (reissued in 1672 and 1679); and by Father Guy in 1869. Cressy's text was reprinted in 1870 and 1908 (Wells, p. 461). Horst. reprints (*op. cit.* I. 104 ff.) selections from *The Scale*, taken from Ms. Rawl. C 285 (chapters 70, 83, 91 of Bk. I, arranged as Nos. 1, 5, 3, respectively). No. 5 is not chap. 82 as Horst. says (I, 443), but chap. 83, at least according to the Worc. version.

⁶⁷ "Eight Harleian Mss., three Rawlinson Mss., Ms. Landsdowne 362, Ms. Cbg. (Cambridge) Dd V 55 and Ff V 40, and others" (*op. cit.* p. 460). "Others" may include our Ms.; but it is not otherwise mentioned by Wells in connection with *The Scale of Perfection*.

⁶⁸ Cf. Wells, p. 461.

shalbe sauf. On is cald actief lif and that other contemplatief; with outen of these two may ther noman be sauf.

Then chap. ii describes *actief* life and chap. iii (f.73) begins with the heading, OF COMTEMPLATIEF LIF AND OF THE WERKIS THEREOF.

The heading of final chapter (lxxxxxiii) on f.116 runs, in bold script: HERE IN IS TOLD THE CAUSE WHI THIS WRITYNG IS MADE AND HOW SHE SHAL BEHAVE HIR IN THE REDYNG THAT IT WAS MADE TO.

Lo, I have told the a litel, as me thynkith, first of lif contemplatief what it is and after of the wey whiche by grace leedith therto, nought for that I have in feelyng and in werkyng as I have it in *saeng*. Nevertheles I wolde bi thiese wordis suche as thei bien first stiren myn owne negligence for to do bettir than I have don; and also my purpos is for to stire the or any other man or womman that hath taken the state of lif contemplatief for to travaile more busily and more mekely in that maner of lif bi suche simple wordes as god gyveth me grace for to sayne. And therfor if any worde be therin that stirith the or comfortith the more to the love of god, thank god of it; it is his gift and nat of the worde. And if it be so that it comfortith the nat, or ellis that thow takist it nat redily, studie nat longe therabout. But lay it biside the til another tyme and gyve thisilf to praier or to other occupacioun; take it as it wil come and nat al at oones. Also thiese wordis that I write take hem nat to straitly, but therof that the thynkith bi goode advisement that I speke to shortly outhur for lackyng of Inglissh or wantyng of reason; I pray the amende it only ther neede is. Also thiese wordis that I write to the thei long nat alonly to a man whiche hath actief lif but to the or to another whiche hath state of contemplatief. The grace of our lord Jhesu Crist be with the, Amen.

This is the only *explicit* on this page of the Ms., though the words JHESUS BE OURE SPEDE AMEN stand at the head of the following page (116^b), apparently distinct from the text of the page which has been crossed through by several strokes of a pen; and its contents have nothing to do with the preceding piece.

5. THE DEDIS OF APOSTELS

Immediately preceding *The Scale of Perfection* in the manuscript (ff.48-72) there is an interesting version of the *Acts of the Apostles*, which may have had in its origin some connection with Rolle of Hampole. At any rate it is, like the Worcester version of the Psalms, identical with the "later" Purveyite version of the *Deeds*, as printed by Forshall and Madden (vol. iv, p. 507ff.) both in the Prolog and the text, except in one minor point: at the end of the

Prolog in the Worc. version and just before the beginning of chap. i occur the words, THIS SEITH JEROM. While these words are not found in either of the two versions of Forshall and Madden,, similar references to Jerome are given by the editors of the Wycliffite Bible in the manuscript variants on p. 8. For example two of the manuscripts have, "Jerom in his prologe on this book seith thus," four other manuscripts read: "Jerome here in this prolog seith this," and still other variants of the sentence are recorded. All of these statements seem to point to Jerome as the author of the Prolog to the *Dedis*.

There seems, therefore, to be no doubt that the Worc. Cath. Libr. F. 172 version of *The Deeds of the Apostles* is intimately related to that of a considerable number of manuscripts, which are described in detail by Forshall and Madden in the Introduction to their monumental edition of Middle English versions of the Bible. I print the Prolog here in full for purposes of future reference.

Immediately after the *Explicit* of the preceding piece (f.48) follows:

THE PROLOG ON THE DEDIS OF APOSTELS

LUKE of Antioche of the nacioun of Sirie, whos praiseng is told in the gospel; at Antioche he was a worthy man of lechecraft and afterward a disciple of Cristes apostels and sued Poul thapostel. He serued god in maydenhede without blame, and whan he was fourescore yeere old and foure he died in Bithynie ful of the holigost, And he thurgh stiring of the holygost in the coostis of Achaie wrote the gospel to feithful greekis and shewed the Incarnacioun of the lord bi a triewe tellyng; and shewed also that he was comen of the kynred of DAVID. Tb hym nat without desert was yoven power to write the doynge of thaposteles and her mynisterie, that god beyng ful in god whan the sone of perdicoun was ded, and thapostels hadden made their praier thurgh lott of the lordis eleccioun, the nombre of the Apostels wern fulfilled. And also that POUL shuld end the doynge of the apostels whom the lord had chosen, that long tyme wynsed agenst the prike. And to hem that reden and sechen god he wold shewe it bi short tellyng rather than shewe furth any thyng more lengger to hem that wlaton long thynges; knowing that it bihovith tilier that worchith to ete of his owne fruytes. And he fonde só moche grace of god that nat only his medicyne profited to bodies, but also to soulis.

THIS SEITH JEROM

VI. THE LANGUAGE OF THE MENDING OF LIFE.

The Worcester Cathedral MS. of the *Amending of Life* (172, ff.16-32) clearly represents the Midland dialect of the fifteenth century, and Southern rather than Northern Midland. Phonologically it is clearly not of the Northern dialect from the absence of the characteristic Northern *a* from OE. *a*, except in such an unstressed word as *nat* 'not', which frequently appears with *a* in Midland texts. The MS. is equally free from the characteristic Southern *u* for OE. *y* short and long. An occasional *uy* for OE. *y*, as in *fuyre* 'fire', would suggest slight West Midland influence, but such influence is clearly not pronounced. Indeed this *uy* may be merely a copyist's form, since it is rare in other words.

The Midland character of the text is equally proved by the *-eth* (*ith*) of the third singular present indicative, and the *-en* (*n*) of the indicative plural. Orthographic indications of a fifteenth century Midland are French *ie* for English long stressed *e*, as in *bien* 'be', *lierned* 'learned'; *th* beside an occasional OE. thorn letter; *i* for *e* in unstressed *-eth*, *-es*, *-ed* endings, as in *ravishith*, *wrecchis* 'wretches', *cursid* 'cursed'.

The text contains several strange and unusual words, which seem to have originated in some cases through the carelessness or ignorance of the scribe or the translator; in some cases through the attempted conversion of a Latin word into an orthographically similar English form, when there was apparently no English equivalent known to the writer. This is evidently true of the word *peryzomata* (p. 21), which is used to designate the "pilched cotes" of Adam and Eve, and which was literally transferred from the vulgate text of *Genesis* iii, 7: *Et aperti sunt oculi amborum; cumque cognovissent se esse nudos, consuerunt folia ficus, et fecerunt sibi perizomata.*

The following words seem to have been the result of carelessness or ignorance: *lerith* (p. 34) for *lernith*, *vnshryve* (p. 36) for *unshryve*, *fele* (p. 37) for *felt*, *schars* (p. 38) for *scars*, *sidnes* (p. 40) for *sinnes*, *an* (p. 40) for *and*, *neither* (p. 45) for *nether*, *feely* (p. 46) for *feele*, *buystous* (p. 46) for *boisterous* (though this form may have some historical justification, phonetically speaking), *mervously* (p. 48) for *mervailously*, *ane* (p. 51) for *and*, *jnowhg* (p. 55) for *enough*, *withstangyng* (p. 31) for *withstanding*, *bisse* (p. 53) for *blisse*, *hignesse* (p. 57) for *highness*.

There is also a considerable number of words in the Worcester

version of *The Mending of Life* which are either earlier than the corresponding forms recorded by the dictionaries, or quite unusual and strange, or have hitherto not been noticed at all. *Beane brede* (p. 39) seems to have been known in the Middle Ages as a food product but the *New English Dictionary* gives just one example of the word ('Wyclif, 1380'). *Cavelaciouns* (p. 42) is apparently a very unusual word, though it occurs once in the *Canterbury Tales* (*Summoner's Tale*: D. 2136) as *cavillacioun*, O. Fr. *cavillation* 'act of cavilling'. *Enarrable* (p. 56) 'that may be related or told', is not recorded in the NED with this meaning before 1623; but it is used by mistake for *innarrable* 'that cannot be described' in the *Monk of Evensham* (1482). The NED has no example of *inex-cogitable* (p. 52) 'unthinkable' before 1599. *Inpassible* (p. 51) 'impassible', 'not to be suffered' is recorded only once in the NED, viz. "Rolle's Psalter lxxi, 5." *Lettrure* (p. 54) 'literature' is an unusual though not a new form. *Lepie* (p. 52) 'leap, run' is a peculiar derivative of the OE. *hleapan* 'to leap'. The verb *occulte* (p. 47) 'hide, conceal,' is not recorded before 1527; and it occurs, according to the NED, only twice previous to the nineteenth century. The adjective *odible* 'odious,' which occurs twice (p. 32, 40) in our text, is recorded by the NED once from Lydgate (*Chron. Troy* iii, xxiv) and once from the morality *Mankind*. None of the dictionaries with which I am acquainted has noticed *rebibying* (p. 52) 'reviving', in any form. The adjective *resteyve* (p. 49) 'stationary', 'resisting motion or control of any kind', seems to be of infrequent occurrence. While the adverb *vilansly* (p. 50) has apparently never been recorded at all, the adjective form *vilans* (O. Fr. *vilains*) has been found in at least two different works, according to Strattmann-Bradley's *Middle English Dictionary* (*Destruction of Troy* 527 and *Alexander* 4164).

The following words occur rather frequently in Middle English literature, but the forms which appear in our text will probably strike the reader at first as being unfamiliar: *arerist* (p. 52) from OE. *araeran* 'to lift up, elevate'; *aweym* (p. 30) 'away'; *disparpled* (p. 44) 'scattered'; *everlastyme* (p. 29) 'eternity' (though this form is perhaps a corruption of *everlasting time*); *fical* (p. 48) 'fickle'; *grynne* (p. 30) 'gin, trap'; *lightloker* (p. 49) 'more lightly or easily'; *loos* (p. 43) 'praise'; *slider or sliper* (p. 40) 'slippery'; *save* (p. 34) and frequently) as the adversative 'but'. All the other words of *The Mending of Life* should be familiar to the student of the English language. But a comprehensive 'Glossary' would be desirable, or even necessary, for the general reader.

THE TEXT OF THE MENDING OF LIFE

This is the libel of Richard Hermyte of Hampol of the Amende-ment of Mannes Lif, other ellis of the Rule of Goode Livyng. And it is departed in xii chapitres: The first is how a man conuerte hym to god; the secunde is how he shal dispose hym vnto the world; the iii is of poverte; the iiii is of thordynaunce of goode livyng; the v is of tribulacioun; the vi is of pacience; the vii is of praier; the viii is of meditacioun; the ix is redyng; the x of clenness of mynde; the xi of the love of god; the xii of the contemplacioun, other the biholdyng of god. Of these matiers, eueriche after other as god yevith hem, we shuln folowe.

CAPITULUM PRIMUM

Tarie the noght man to be conuerted vnto thi lord god, nother delay the noght from day to day. For sodainly he ravissith wrecchis with greuous deth. And tho that he fyndith slow to be converted, bitterness of peyne sodainly devourith that of vs may nat be nombred of worldly men. How fele and how many that cursid presumpcioun disceiveth and hath disceived.

A grete synne forsoth it is in the mercy of god to trust and of their synnes thought to cease, wenyng the mercy of god to be so grete that he wil nat yield to the synful rightful payne for their synne. "Therefore while it is day late vs werke; night forsoth comyth in whiche may noman wirche."⁶⁹ Light or ellis day is cald this⁷⁰ present lif, in which lif we shuld neuer cease to do goode werkis, wityng wele that the hour of our deth is vncerteyn. Night is cald in whiche tyme mennys membris bien bounde, his witties bien bynome hym; and thanne nothyng may we worche that is for vs holsum, but after suche werkis as we han don we shul receyue joie or torment. A while here we liven, and yit [it] is lasse than a while; for and al our tyme here were set in comparisoun to euerlastyme, than is it notyme. And how we nat without most grevous dampnacioun in the love of vanitees wasten our lives and stand alday negliget and idel, our synnes nat forthynkyng. Converte vs, lord, and we shuln bien conuertid, hele vs and we shuln bien holl.⁷¹ Many bien nat helid of men and wymmen, but the woundes bien feestred and stynk. For nov⁷² thei converten hem to god and to-morow torne away from hym; this day thei repente, to-morow to synne thei torne agayne. Of suche it is writen thus: "We han

⁶⁹ Cf. *John* ix. 4. Miss Comper, whose footnotes I have made free use of, says (*op. cit.*, p. 244): "I have not been able to trace the source of Rolle's quotations. They often differ slightly from the Vulgate; nor do they follow the *Vetus Italica*. Most probably Rolle quoted from the missal or breviary, or possibly he may have relied upon his memory which has sometimes played him false". The *Worc.* Ms. has rather frequent Latin 'catch' phrases (from 2 to 5) on the outer margin of each page, apparently taken from the original *De Emendatione Vitae*. But it is often impossible to make out the meaning of these marginal notes.

⁷⁰ Ms. in this.

⁷¹ Cf. *Jer.* xvii, 14.

⁷² v for w in this Ms. occurs mostly at the end of the line.

curid Babilon, and yit is she nat holl, for somoche as she was nat to Crist verail[y] conuertid."⁷³

What is it to be conuerted to god? forsoth to torne from the world, from synne, from the devil, and from the lustis of the flessch. What is the tornyng awaym from god but turning to worldly goode that is chaungeable, and to delitable (f.17^b) shap of his owne beaute; to the werkis of the devil, and to fleshly lustis of the body and of the world? We bien nat forsoth turned to god with goyng of our feete, but in folowyng of goode desire and goode condicioun of maners. The conuersioun to god forsoth is al the while we dresse and sette vnto hym the spiritual eye of our mynde. His counsaills and comaundementis, that thei of vs bien fulfilled euermore we bethynk vs, that wheresumeuer we be, wheresoeuer we go or sitte, the drede of god passe neuer out of our hertis. I speke nat of that dreede that hath payne, sauf but to hym that is in charite, to whom we owen reuerence in presence of so grete a mageste, and euermore dreede we lest in litel we offende hym. So forsoth, and we disposed to god rightly, we bien conuertid and from the world turned away. To be torned from the world is nat ellis but his delites sette at nought and his bittir turmentis for goddis love wilfully and gladly to suffre; and to forgete al maner occupacioun vnprofitable and seculier needis, wherthurgh our soule and wil holy to god be conuerted. And that al thynges the whiche that in the world bien biloid or that the world axith he die therfro,⁷⁴ his herte beyng therfor straught out in breede to desire hevenly thinges. And have he euer god afore his eyen, as though he euermore shuld behold hym, as the ful holy psalmyste⁷⁵ witnessith hymself to have don, saien in the psalme: "I purueied god euer in my sight,"⁷⁶ nought for a tyme, as thei don the whiche that all erthly beaute and love put tofore the eyen of their hertis, and bihold in suche vanites as thei bien delited inne, and coveiten to vse the same. Therfor saith the psalmyste eftsones: "Myn eyen euer bien to god, for he shal take my feete out of the grynne."⁷⁷ Opinly forsoth it appierith of thiese wordis, that if we our inward gostly eyen to god we oft lift nat vp, the grynnes and fetters of temp-tacioun we shal nat eschape. And bicause that mannes eye of his herte shuld nat stidefastly be sette in god, nothir to hym be parfitly conuertid, ther bien many lettynges of whiche sum we shuln shewe, whiche bien thiese: habundaunce of riches, flaterieng and fairnes of wymmen, fairnes of youth. This is the threhold corde the whiche is hard to breke; and yit neuertheles he shalbe broken and set at nought if that god be lovid.

Who forsoth desirith verily to love Crist he is nat only without sorow; also with grete joye al thynges that mown letten hym to

⁷³ Jer. li, 9.

⁷⁴ *Th* is used in this reprint for the old runic thorn, which occurs rather frequently in the *Ms*—especially at the ends of lines.

⁷⁵ *Ms. psalme.*

⁷⁶ Ps. xvi, 8.

⁷⁷ Cf. Ps. xxv, 15.

come therto he castith away. Also in that cause he ne sparith⁷⁸ fader, moder, nor hymself; he settith bi no faire chiere, ne violence to al erthely thyng he bryngith; al obstacilis hym withstangyng he brekith. Whatsoeuer he may do for goddis (f.18) love seemyth hym ful litel. He fleeth away from vices to worldly solacis; he biholdith nomore than a man that is drunke, dressyng forsoth so his wittis in god so highly, that almost his worldly wittis he hath lost. Al his spiritual wittis inward he hath gadred toguyder, al his mynde in god is lift vp; so that whan men seen hym [thei] weenen that he be sory; than is his mynde in grete joie.

But many ther bien whiche seyn the[i] wiln conuerte to god; but thei suppose thei may nat do it yit, bicause thei bien hold with suche worldly occupacioun or suche busynes first, whos cold mynde without fuyre of charitable love to god, with sorowyng we han sen and found. For without doute, and thei wern touched with the lest sparcle of Cristes love, anon with al maner of solas and gladnes thei wold seeche and inquire bi what wey they myght come to the seruice of god; nother of that enquiring wold they neuer cease until thei had founden it. And othir while thei leggen accusaciounis whiche most accusen hem; for why many men their richesse withdrawith hem, wymmens flatteryng beguylith hem; and sumtyme tho that han long lived wel, bi hem in to the most evil diche han fallen and ther bien drenchid. For beaute anon is lovid; and whan she feelith that she is lovid, lightly she is bounde; and after the bonde, worse of conuersacioun than she was tofore. Thanne is hir name defouled, and she that tofore was comendable of al people is dispised and hold abhominable.

I sawgh forsoth a man of whom men seide that bi iii yeeris⁷⁹ he chastised his body with mervylous reddour of penaunce, and after fil in synne with a mannes wif and uncovenably lived, from whom he myght nat be departed vnto the tyme of his deth. In his dieng forsoth men sayden that he cursid the priestis that comen vnto hym to mynistr to hym the sacramentis and refused to receyve theym. Therfor shal the people that is newly to god conuertid al occasiouns flee that wold enduce hem to synne, as wordis, deedis, and sightis whiche that stirith a man to do evil. This shaltow with al thi busynes and al thyn flee and eschewe. The more vnlieful that a thyng is, the more is the deede ill and shameful. Also the devil arisith up hugely agenst hym whiche he seeth aweym from hym and bien conuerted to god. And than he ceasyng neuer but tendith in hem the false desires of the world and the flessch, and bryngith in their mynd delites of synnes tofore don, and purposith how to let hem of doying penaunce, and exciteth hem with idil thoughtis, fantasies, and vnprofitable desires without nombre, of whiche first thei wern shryven of. Now yee penitents among al temptaciouns (f.18^b) manfully hauntith vertues and yow arraie in spiritual armure; and agenst the devil and al his suggestiouns stidefastly ye with-

⁷⁸ The words *he ne sparish* repeated in the Ms.

⁷⁹ Misyn says "fifteen years", cf. Harvey, p. 107.

standyng, quenche yee fleshly desires, euermore suspiryng in holy meditacioun to the love of god. And letith neuer the dispisyng of the fals world pas oute of youre hertis, of whiche dispite is now to be saide.

DE CONTEMPTU. CAPITULUM iim.

To dispise the world is al maner temporal goodis that bien transitorie and vnstable, without any love setting on hem in thy livyng, to lete ouerpasse; in thi wey in whiche thou shalt passe nothyng to aske after except god; of al maner vayneglorie and worldly solacis to take of no kepe; vnneth necessities to thi body to receive; and sumwhile whan thei lacke, gladly to suffre it. This is the dispisyng of the world. Thus have thi mynd if thou wilt gostly be slayn. In this wise the world is dispiced and nat loved.

Al thynges forsoth that we love we worshippe. Foule thyng forsoth it is to love and worship toordis, the whiche is to say worldly goodis. That is the cause that thiese riche men, coueytous men, to most stynkyng thyng thei maken hemsilf thral and seruauntis; and thei reioice hemsilf to be cald lordis ouer men. That man of man shuld be lord, it is nat of kynde but of fortune. For that man is evil and wikked that is subject to synne. Therfor put away evil wil and thou shalt be free, both from the and from synne; and than art thou made seruaunt to rightwisnesse, the whiche techith the worldis vanite nought to love. Contrarie for suche bien the couetous of the world and the love of god, nother in oo place rest they nat, so straité and narow is their bedde, so that oon or that other goth beside. For the further thou castist away covetice worldly from the, so moche⁸⁰ more the love of god thou shalt tast. And evir the more is in the of suche covetise, so moche of charite is in the lesse.

O wrecchid soule, what seekistow in this world, sith thou seest that al thynges therin bien transitorie and disceivable? Tho thynges sounest beguilen the whiche that fairest flateren with the. Whi busiest thisilf with dedly thynges to be fulfilled? Whi covetist thou with so grete desire thynges that shuln spille? Seestow nat how thei spille rather than purchase? "But I knowe wher thou dwelist, theras is Sathanas seete,"⁸¹ whiche hath blynded thyn eyen and, goyng tofore the, he skornyth the, techyng the that thou shuldist coveite transitorie thynges, and that thou shouldest love al thyng that is abhominable synne and odible. (f.19) And al spiritual goode that is euerlastyng thou shuldest dispise and to worldly vanitees that bien vanysshynge thou shuldest sette thi thought. And so thou groundist the on a fals foundement, and whan thou wenest to stande thou shalt falle in to bitter fuyre.

Thei that dwellen in plente of temporal goodis, v thynges thei loven bi whiche thei bien disceived: On is bi riches, another is bi dignite, the iii is bi worldly lust, the ii is bi power, the v bi worshippes worldly. Thiese bynden suche men in synne and con-

⁸⁰ Moche repeated in the Ms.

⁸¹ Rev. ii, 13.

straynen hem to don evil til deth come. With thiese delites thei bien ouercom and nat therof loosed. Bi thanne it is to laate to be loosed, to whom is non other help save everlastyng torment. Thiese vanitees letten hem that that thei can nat dispise the world that lettith hem from the love of god and from the knowlache of hymself, and from the desire of the realme of hevene. Noman forsoth may be savid but bi the world, and yit al thynges worldly he ne shal nat love. Leve, man, synne while the heete of synne is in the body and while the beaute of yowth is with the. What delite hath that man on any worldly thyng the whiche hath disposid hym to love Crist? he shal treade [youth]⁸² vndir foote; his strength to god he shal kepe; richessis he shal sette at nought, saieng that it is a disceitful grace and an idel. From fleshly beaute he shal torne away, and so lete al other vanitees passe. Parfitely he shal dispise all thynges worldly the whiche passen as doeth the shadewe of the day.

O thou lover of thi bodie, what shaltow fynde in thi flesh, whi thou shuldist thereon be so delited? Likith it to the thi faire shap, or artow reioiced in thi faire skynne? Whi takest thou no kepe what is vnder the skynne? Knowistow nat that the beaute of thi flesh is the veile and couerture of foulennesse, of stinche, and of corrupcioun, and oftymes cause of thi perdicioun? Sufficith it to the therfor, al thiese worldly vanites dispised, to love god, to praise god, to be with god, to reioyce the in god, and nat to passe from god, but to hym with fervent desire cleve to. To dispise the world the world hymself compellith the nat, whiche is so ful of so many wrecchidnesses; in the whiche is malice evirduryng, persecucioun evir oppressing, envie evir lotyng, bakbityng evir gnawying, fals imposicioun of blame evir disclaundryng, bittirnes of disclaundres suffryng, wher al evil is vsed; althyng out of rule, wher no right-wisnes is lovid nother trouth proved; wher falsnes is holde trouth and cruelnesse friendship, the whiche in prosperite holdith with the, and in aduersite he failith the.

And yit mo thynges ther bien whiche mown (f.19^b) force vs to the dispise of the world: that is, the chaungyng of tymes, shortnes of this present lif, the certainte and sikernes that we shuln die, the vncertaynes of deth his comyng, the stidefastenes of evirlastyng lif, the vanite of worldly goode nat abidyng, the trouth of the joies that bien to come. Chese now whiche thou wilt, for if thou lovist Crist thou shalt reigne with hym in blisse.

DE PAUPERTATE. CAPITUTUM iii^m

If thou wilt be parfite, go and selle al that thou hast and yeve it to the poore and come and folow me, that is to say Crist.⁸³ In forsakyng worldly goodis and in folowyng the spiritual goodis of Crist, shewith to be a grete perfeccioun. Al men forsoth whiche han forsake ther temporall goodis folowen Crist, for many bien worse

⁸² Supplied from Comper's version.

⁸³ Cf. *Matt.* xix, 21.

after the forsakyng than thei wern tofore. For after thei serven to bakbite their neyghburghs and bien nat drad to benyme their goode fame, than thei lotyn in envie; thei grynth with their teeth for malice and attr; thei magnifie hemsilf; thei commende theyr owne estate. Al other people thei sette nought by or thei dampne. How trowest thou the devil skorneth suche people whiche have nothir the world nothir god? And so thurgh suche wrong weyes he ledith hem to everlastyng tormentis.

Thow forsoth that vndirstandist what is tofore saide, shalt take thi povert⁸⁴ bi another wey, ther as god seith "go and selle al that thou hast." Thow shalt marke in the wordis and vndirstonde, chaungyng of thi desires and of thi thoughtes; as if thou hast be desired and thought how to be proude, bicomme thou meke; if angry, soft and pacient; if envious, charitable; if coveitous, discretely be large. And if a man had bien defouled bi synne, and nat only of synne save⁸⁵ of every spice of evil, lete hym in tyme of temptacioun stryve theragenst and abstene hym therfro. And if he have trespasssed in excesse of etyng and drynkyng, herafter amende it with abstynence and fastyng. And if he have lovid the world to moche, late hym thanne torne al his love to Crist, and al vayne thoughtis of the hert sette fast in oo desire of everlastyng goodenesse. And so plenteuous to hym shalbe voluntarie povert, and for angwissch whiche that he suffrith for goddis love, with a glorious corowne he shalbe crowned, as in the gospel is writen: "Blissed be poore men in spirite, for theirs is the realme of hevene."⁸⁶

What thyng is povert in spirite but mekenes of mannes mynde, thurgh whiche man knowith his owne infirmyte? Seeyng that he may nat come to parfitee stabilnes without the grace of god, therfor forsake he al maner worldly thing whiche may lette hym to receyve that grace, and sette he alonly his desire (f.20) in the joie of god that made hym. And as that many smale braunchis sprong out of a roote, in the same maner of wilful povert that man takith on hym here in this world vertues and goode maners of condiciouns proceden without nombre. For whi sum man wil chaunge his cote and nat his soule; and yit men seeth suche men forsake riches, but thei cesse nat to gadre toguyder vices and synnes. What thyng is worse than a prowde poore man?⁸⁷ Or what thyng is cursidder than is an envious begger? Thow forsoth if for goddis love al thyng forsakist, bihold more what thou dispisest than what thou forsakest. Bihold diligently how thou shalt folowe Crist, for he saith hymself: "Liernyth," he saith, "of me for I am meke and lowe of hert."⁸⁸ He saith nat, "Ler[n]ith of me for I am poore." For povert is no vertu but wrecchidnes; nothir for hymself he is comendable, nothir to be desired; but for somoche as he is an

⁸⁴ Ms. *pover*.

⁸⁵ *Save* used several times as adversative conjunction *but* in this Ms.

⁸⁶ Matt. v. 3.

⁸⁷ Ms. *prowde man poore man*.

⁸⁸ Matt. xi, 29.

instrument of vertu and helpith men to purchase blissidnes, and makith a man also to withdrawe and to shoone and eschewe many occasiouns whiche bien of synne and wold induce man to synne. And for that cause he is commendable and to be desired. It makith also a man nat to bien worshipped, be he never so vertuous; save to be dispised, and nat set by and cast out of the felawship of al thiese worldly lovers that deliten hem in the world, the whiche is an high merite to hym that gladly suffrith al this for the love of god.

And for that cause Crist in ensample liernyng vs lad a poore lif in his livyng, for he knew weele that thiese worldly men that bien habundaunt in riches and fleshly lustis, hard is to hem to entre in to the realme of hevene.⁸⁹ Wherfor in somoche that men more coveitously and fervently shuld love povert, the high worship to hem whiche for goddis love al erthely goodis han forsake and wiln folowe hym, he hath graunted hem and yoven a judicial power, saing thus: "Yee that han forsaken al thynges and han folowid me, yee shuln sitte on the seetis of the xii, demyng the tribes of Irsael."⁹⁰ Thei forsoth that han wilful pouert and lak mekenes whiche Crist techith, are⁹¹ more wrecchidder than thei that han habundaunce of worldly goodis and riches; nother thei shuln nat have at the dome the see, nother the seete of the dignite of the apostelis. But thei shuln be clothed with a doublet of confusioun and shame, the whiche is dampnacioun of body and soule. Thei forsoth that shynen in swetnes and humilite, though thei han grete riches, nevertheles on the righthand of Crist whan he demyth thei shuln bien sette.

Sum men say that we mown nat forsake althyng, seeke we be; it is for vs behoveful to withold necessarie thynges whereof to live, and lieful it is. And yit thei bien litel worth, for thei dar nat for goddis love suffre angwissh, pouert, nother penurie. Nevertheles (f.20^b) thei mown thurgh goddis grace come to the highest degre of vertues and to the contemplacioun of heavenly thynges, lift vp and sette hir⁹² herte; if so that thoccasiouns and seculier needis thei forsake, and busily arisen from synne to holy praier and holy thynkyng. And suche as thei have, the hold without setting of love thereon, and so holdyng, leete theym over passe. Takith busy entent and heed, that to seche trauail after superfluite it is covetice profitable; to withhold that is necessary is often infirmite. Therefor whan thei considren heavenly⁹³ richessis hier and gretter to be than the worldly riches, that is lasse or nought, whiche thei han nat, beyng prowde therof; nothir thei presume nat to be worthy to stie, nothir han deserved to come ordynatly vnto the ordynance of lif, of whiche now consequently folowith.

⁸⁹ Cf. *Matt.* xix, 23.

⁹⁰ *Matt.* xix, 28.

⁹¹ *Ms.* *he is.*

⁹² *Ms.* *his.*

⁹³ *Ms.* *to heavenly.*

DE INSTITUCIONE VITE.⁹⁴ CAPITULUM iii^m.

How man shalbe dressid rightwisly to the worship of god and to the profite and avauntage both of hymself and of his neighborh, iiii thynges ther bien to be saide and taught. First, what thynges defoulen a man for suche iii synnes, other thre kyndis of synnes. The first is thought thynkyng, the secunde with mowth spekyng, the third is in deede doying. A man synneth in thought thynkyng, whan he thynkith anythyng agenst the wil of god; or if he occupie nat the thoughtes of his herte with the praisyng and love of god; or if he drawe his thought from god and bisettith it to renne aboute in idel, worldly thynges. With mowth he synneth whan he lieth; whan he forswerith hym; whan he cursith; whan he bakbitith; whan he errith in spekyng, ignorantly vnknowyng; whan he spekith folily of folie or ribawdie, or of thyng that is in vayne or idel. In deede he synneth many wises: livyng lecherously, vnliefully handlyng or touchyng thurgh kissyng voluntarily; hymself defoulyng or procuryng or suffryng; and namely without cause drawyng to suche thynges and takyng suche thyng to hym, bi the whiche he trowith to be defoulid; also thurgh stelyng or robbying, or any man thurgh fals sotilte beguyllyng; or ellis smytyng with suche other mysdedis.

Now it is to say, whatt thynges ben thei that clensen a man from synne? And it bien iii against tho other iii: The first is contricioun in thynkyng on thi mysdede and castyng out of al maner worldly desires whiche that perteignen nat to the praisyng and love of god. The secunde is shrift of mowth, whiche shalbe tymely, nat liggyng long in synne vnsh[r]yve; and it must be naked, that is to (f.21) say open, nothyng hidde; and it must be holl, nothyng left behynde. Satisfaccioun for mysdede hath iii parties: On is fastyng, in somoche as thow hast synned and trespassed to thisilf. The secunde is praier, for he hath synned agenst god. The thridde is almesdede, for he hath synned agenst his neighborh. Nevertheles I say nat thow shalt yeve thyn almes of other mennes goode, save thow shalt restore it. For the synne is nat foryoven vntil that whiche is away-born be restored.

The thrid questioun is, whiche thynges bien thei that kepen clennes in mannes herte? Ther bien of hem iii: First is busy thynkyng in god, that in al tymes evir thi thought be in hym, except tyme of sleep that is to al people comune. The secunde is busynes of kepyng of his v wittis outward; that is to say, of tastyng, smellyng, heryng, seeyng, and towchyng. These v must he constreyne vndir the bridil of liernyng. The thridde is honest occupacioun, as in redyng or anythyng of god spekyng; other studieng honest studie, other wrytyng, or sum thyng that [is] profitable doying. In the same wise iii thynges ther bien that kepen the mowth cleéne: oon is to bithynke the or thow speke, the secunde, bewar of to moche speche, the thridde is, lie nat, ne bere no witnesse of lesyng. Also

⁹⁴ In Misyn's translation this chapter is entitled, "Of the settinge of Mans Lyfe". For a similar treatment of a kindred subject by Rolle, see *The Form of Perfect Living*, chap. vi (Horst. i, 21ff.).

other iii thynges kepen clennes of werkynge; that is to say, mesure of thi foode, as in etynge and drynkyng, fleeyng from the company of evil felawship, and busy thynkyng on thi deth.

The iiii questioun is, what thynges bynde vs to the conformyng of the wil of god? Forsoth iii: first, ensample of creatures, the whiche is take heede of by goddis consideracioun; homlynesse whiche is gotten and purchased bi the holigost and praier; and the joies of the realme of hevene, whiche in manere is felt⁹⁵ in vs bi contemplacioun. For in this forme god his man and seruaunt that is set: "He shalbe as a tree whiche is planted beside the rennyng of watres"⁹⁶ and the floodis of graces; so that euer he shal growe in vertues and neuer be dried with the drought of vices, ne of synne. The whiche his fruyte sowith in goode lond, that is to say, doeth goode werkis in ensample; and the goodis that he hath of goddis yift he shal yeve ageyn to the worship of god and nat selle hem for veynglorie in his tyme, that is, in his lif. Also agenst al tho the whiche yeven ensample of fastyng whan tyme is to eete, and to eete whan tyme is to fast; and agenst the covetous whiche yeven their fruyte whan it is roten, or ellis tarien it vn [to] the tyme that thei shuln die.

Wisely therfor praiede he the whiche saide to god: "Goode-nesse and loore and science, lord, tech thow me."⁹⁷ What is disciplyne but an ordynaunce of goode thewis, or ellis correccioun of maners from ill to goode? First therfor bi loore and disciplyne in (f.21^b) rightwisnes we bien ilierned, other ellis correctid and amendid from evil; and than after we knowe and wite what to do and what to forsake and refuse to doo. At the last we savour nat fleshly nother earthly thynges; save we savour heavenly thynges and godly, whan that any man hath dressid hym with strength to the will of his maker and with vertues hath vndergrowen other, whiche haply wern his forgoers and overcomen in stidefastnes of good livyng and desire of Crist, yit therfor he shal nat reioice hym, nothir sette the more bi hymself nothir to other that semyn evil suppose hymself above or bettir; save he shal hold hymself most wrecched and most foul of all. Noman but hymself shal he deme; al men he shal sette tofore hym and suppose hym his bettir; he shal nat coveite of the people to be cald holy, but to be of hem dispised. And whan he comyth among men, looke he be supposed the last in nombre and the lest in oppynioun; for euer the gretter that thow art evir the more meke thisilf in al thynges, and than shaltow fynde grace tofore god, that is to say, of magnifyeng in hevene. For grete is god his myght and power, and of meke men he is worshipped. And therfor of the prowde he is dispised, the whiche sechen after their owne joye and nat after the joye of god.

And if so be in the favour of the people thow be reioised and take on the with grete joy the worshippe that is offred to the of the

⁹⁵ Ms. *feld*.

⁹⁶ Ps. i, 3 of Rolle's translation in this Ms. has the same wording: "And he shalbe as a tree the whiche is planted bisides the rennynges of watris", Cf. *Introd.* p. 18.

⁹⁷ Ps. cxix, 66.

people for thi goode fame, as god forbeede, know the than here in this world to have received thi meede. And though that men weene the a man of grete penaunce and of noble contynence, and [it] is soth; yit while thow hast more joy in thyn herte of man his erthly joy than of aungels hevenly joy, in tyme to come it is to the but sorow and torment. Therfor thow must parfityly dispise thisilf and declyne and torne from al worldly joy. Nothyng but bicause of goodis love thynk nothir do; so that al thi lif withynne and without, spirituel and bodily, crie evir vnto goddis worship and praisyng.

In eetyng and drynkyng [be thow] schars and discret, and nothyng to be cast out; for the tyme of it be received with thankynges to god. While thow eetist or drynkest lete neuer the mynde of god out⁸⁸ of thi thought, for he it is that feedith the. Forsoth thow shalt praise, blisse, and glorifie hym in euery morsell that thow etist; so that thov shalt sette thyn herte more on thi god than in thi mete. And take goode heede that non hour thy mynde departe from god. And therfor do thow in this wise that thow maist have the euerlastyng corowne tofore god. And in that wise thow shalt chase away the tempta(f.22)ciouns of devils, whiche awaiten on men and disceiven hem, and most in mete and drynk. As vnwise men that can nat mesure hemsilf in feedyng, thei withdrewe from hem vertues and fulfiln hem with vices; or ellis thei breke her vertues with huge abstynence.

Many ther bien the whiche in eetyng and drynkyng holden no certayn rule: other while contynuanly thei taken to mekil or to litel, or hold nother the tyme nothir the rule of etyng at no tyme. For now thei wiln have this and now that, and now this is goode and now this is bettir. Sum men forsoth that bien vnwise and vntaught, whiche hadden neuer knowlache of the swetnes of Christ his love, weene that vndiscrete abstynence be holynesse. Nother thei trowe nat hemsilf to be maked of grete merite tofore god, but if it were as who seith with vnrightwis abstynence, and to be knowen as solitarie and soleyn among the people. Forsoth abstynence bi hymself is non holynesse but if it be discrete; and if it be discrete it helpith a man to be holy. And if it be vndiscrete it lettith a man to be holy; for in such wise he distroieth lore, without whom al vertues tornen into vices. If any man will take vpon hym singule abstynence, ii thynges he must eschewe, that is to say: sight of men and wymmen and praisyng, lest he shuld wex prowde for thynges of nought and leese al. Thei denye tho men most holy, the whiche thei seen of grete abstynence, ther in soth thei be lesse worth.

He forsoth that the swetnes of euerlastyng love hath tasted shal nevir deme noman bettir than othir as for his abstynence, for in his owne thought he demyth hym the lasse worth, in so moche as other men mervailen on his grete abstynence. The best and most pleasyng [thyng] is, as I deme to god, is a man to conforme hym in mete and drynk for the place and the tyme with hem that he is conuer-

⁸⁸ Out above the line in the Ms.

saunt in honeste, lest that he be seen or supposed a countrefete, or a scorner of religioun. For late hym wite withoute doute, that if oon or two have wele perceyved hym, othir pople anon wil cal hym an ipocrite or a skoffer. And sum bien coveitous of veynglorie whiche ceasen neuer from felawship of other comune livers; or thei ete so lite that the people holden hem holy; other ellis thei procuren sum man to fecche hem hard metis, as beane brede and water, or other suche metis of penaunce, as who saith, "We bien nat like to other comune livers whos lewdenes and abstynence god shield me fro".

Forsoth this counsail is holsum for theym that mown nat fast nothir do abstynence; and for somoche as thei may nat abstene, lete hem take compuncioun in their thoughtis and in their hertis. Thei forsoth that bien of mervailous abstynence supposen al other bettir than hemsilf. Therfor their passyng vertu to other men is hidde and vnknowe; and whan the vertu of their abstynence of moche people is praised, but it be holpe bi huge mekenes and charite tofore Crist, it is had for nought. For the vertu of abstynence is the (f.22^b) more, in somoche as to the people it is vnknowe. What man may knowe how fervent is his love to god, or of what compassioun to his neyghbour? For without doute the vertu of charite excedith without comparisoun al maner of abstynence and fastyng, and al other werkis of mercy that men seen don outwardis. And oft tymes it is seen, that he that in presence of men is hold no faster, nor of non abstynens vsith yit withynfurth; his love fervently is set in god.

It is nedeful to hym to be strong that shal busie hymself manfully in goddis love; for fieblyng of mannes body with abstynence and penaunce lettith often a mannes devocioun that he may nat pray; nothir with fervent desire lift his hert to heavenly thoughtis. Levir it were that a man for grete love of god wer fieble or sike, than for grete fastyng. As that god his spouse witnessith of hirsilf: *Nunciate dilecto quia amore langueo*.⁹⁹ Be thou therfor stidefast in al thi weyes, and after the rule to the shewid thi lif thou redresse; and though in the begynnyng thou mayst nat have thi desire that thou coueitist, mistrust nat god, but abide stidefastly; for thurgh exercise of long tyme thou shalt come to theeffect of thi desire.

If thou be a weygoer in journey, whether thou sitte or stande, or what othir thyng in thy journey thou doo, euermore dresse the sight of thyn inward gostly eye, that is to sey, of thy mynde, to god; ne suffre nat thi thought from hym to departe. And the tyme in the whiche thy mynde in god thou hast nat sette, compt that to the but tyme ilost. In the nyght praise god and coveite his love; nother leete nat sleep fynde the in other occupacioun than in oreisoun prayeng or ellis in holynes of god thankyng. Beware thou fall nat in idel thouzt,¹⁰⁰ nothir to idil werkis be thou subiect, save thus have this stidfastnes in mynde; and studie how to withhold it in mynde, that thou dreede nat the evils and aduersites of the world,

⁹⁹ According to Miss Comper (p. 212, footnote) this is from *Cont.* v. 8.

¹⁰⁰ The *s* in this word is one of the two or three apparent examples of the use of the palatal *g* form in the *Ms.*

nothir his goodis in nowise out of mesure thow desire. For he that is adrad to suffre aduersite yit knew he neuer how it is bihoveful to hym to dispise the world, and he that is reioiced in erthly goodis is straunge and fer from euerlastyng goodis.

To the vertu of gostly strength partene al sikenessis and prosperitees; and also deth to dispise to have euerlastyng lif. And nothyng other is charite save only the desire of euerlastyng blisse. For parfite love is glad to die and suffrith his lif paciently. To whiche perfeccioun thurgh the grace of god if thow wilt ascende, thow shal nat be without tribulacioun or temptacioun, the whiche to put away this sermon folowyng tellith. (f.23).

DE TRIBULACIONE. CAPITULUM V^m

Whan the devil seeth oo man among a thousand¹⁰¹ to be convertid to god and parfityly the steppis of god folowe, the present worldly goodis dispise and seke alonly after spiritual goodis, that bien invisible, and love parfite penaunce to take to hym, of al contagiousnes of mynde and body hym to purge; a thousand wiles of disceit and disease, a thousand craftes, he fyndith to cast hym from goddis love to the love of the world; eftsones to defoule hym with synne and with lecherous thoughtes, the whiche to god makith and yeldith hym both horrible and odible. He stireth agenst hym persecuciouns, tribulaciouns, disclaundres, and complayntes; puttith on hym of fals crymes of hatred, that they may bryng hym in drede, and so to breke his goode livyng with aduersite.

Now puttith he to hym angres, now flaterynges and pleasaunce; he bryngith in his mynde the images and the liknessis of fleshly beaute; he makith and bryngith toguydre the fantasie of thyn old vices, that thow hast don tofore; he callith ageyn the swetnes of the delites past; thyn herte and also thi flesh with slider or sliper low of fuyre he enflawmeth; and with smale temptaciouns he bigynnyth and into the grettest flawme of fuyre of our sidnes¹⁰² he bryngith hem. And bi somoche more he studieth and is gladid to vndirblowe and enfect vs with al maner of kynde and spices of temptaciouns and tribulaciouns, as that he sorowith vs now out of his mowth, [that we] thurgh goddis mercy bien delyvered. Nonother thyng sechith he after, but that he may departe vs from gostly love and most chast and most sweete love that is euerlastyng; and cast vs in to diche of wrecchidnes and defoule vs in the draftis of our old synnes the whiche wern vnto vs more wrecchid and vngacious, that I ne can ne may declare.

Who forsoth myght bithenk a gretter madnes than of hym whiche from kynges foode wold torne hym and feede hymself with hogges mete? Yit more mad is he the whiche the most swete metis procedyng of the wisdam that neuer was made forsakith and hymself subgettith to the flesh makith. Whether that glotenye an[d]

¹⁰¹ Ms. among a M.

¹⁰² Ms. for synnes? The Harvey version is different: "With leste he begynnnes, bot to the grettist flaume of wickidnes he cums". *Op. cit.* p. 115.

lecherie bie nat of hogges kynde? Thei that of hem bien the workers, of devils thei bien the feeders. How it is to be don agenst tribulaciouns and temptaciouns of our enemyes and it to withstande, paciens shal teche vs, of which now we shuln say hereafterward. (f.23^b).

DE PACIENCIA. CAPITULUM VI^m

It is nat pleasaunt to the sones of kynges to bien sette to souke on the teatis of vnresonable beestis. Thei dispise forsoth al maner lustis fleshly and vnlielful and the solaces of the world for the love of Crist. He forsoth that is fedde with that brede whiche cam from hevene,¹⁰² inclyneth nat his desire to suche delites that bien put to hym in the devils bihalve. For whan tribulaciouns and temptaciouns arisen agenst hem, anon he arraith hym in spirituel armure and procedith to bataileward.

Temptacions forsoth thurgh stidefastnes of bileeve and of love of god bien ouercome; tribulaciouns bien ouercome with pacience. What is pacience but of al maner of angwisshes and aduersites a free and a wilful suffraunce? He that is pacient gruccith in non aduersite, save praisith god with the prophete¹⁰³ at al tymes. The more that a man is in aduersite pacient, the more glorious shal he be in hevenes. Therfor tribulaciouns, angwisshes, bitternes of peynes, sikenesses, pouerte, and needis bien wilfully and gladly to be suffred; for thurgh that and suche other pacience our synnes bien clensed and our meede encreasid. For other it is bihoveful in this lif to be brent with the fuyre of god his love and tribulacioun, and so of worldly filthes be purged; or ellis after this lif with the fuyre of purgatorie or hell most bittirly tormentid. Cheese whether ye wil of both; for that oon mown we nat eschape. Here wee mown escape with litel penaunce and with joie. If we veraily bisette vs on Crist, the horrible payne that is to come we mown lightly shone and escape.

Therfor god sendith vs tribulaciouns bicause to drawe vs from the love of the world, and ellis in another lif we shuln be more greuously punysshed. For that in fleshly lustis we han synned, it bihovith in purgatory to be clensed. For though synful men worchen here on our bakkes and torment vs, thei hurt vs nat, but hemsilf that is to say, and we take it patiently. For though thei do to vs here grief, it is but smal to penaunce elliswher; yit thei make a corowne to the meke pacient, and to hemsilf euerlastyng jugement and torment.

The evill people in this present lif god suffrith to passe without tribulacion and disease, for no grace is reserved to hem in the lif to come. And therfor holy men loven tribulacioun, for therthurgh thei knowen wel to come to euerlastyng blisse. The sinful forsoth and he have litel tribulacioun, he gruccith and fleeth it, in asmoche as I may. For al (f.24) the while their wittis bien sette on worldly thynges vnmesurably, the hope of the blisse euerlastyng is bynome

¹⁰² Cf. *John* vi, 53-8.

¹⁰³ Cf. *Ps.* xxxv, 28.

hem. In worldly goodis oftentimes thei fynden grete solace, for thei han lost the savour of evirlastyng goode.

Ther nis man nor womman on live that he ne besettith his love on god his maker, other on sum other creature of goddis makyng. If he sette his love in the creature more than in god, he leesith the love of god, and with the same creature he goeth to helle. Suche manere of love in the bigynnyng is travail and folie; in the mydward sikeness and wrecchidness; and in the end hatred and peyne. He forsoth that lovith god his maker, and al maner worldly thyng refusith and forsakith, grete swetness hath he to speke of god and with god; grete refresshynges it is to hym to have god in mynde. He shittith his eyen and his worldly wittis outwardis for dreede lest deth shuld entre at his wyndowes, and bicause he wold nat be occupied with worldly vanities in idil. And othir bestired agenst dispites, rebukes, scornes, and disclaunders, and therfor than it is needeful to hym to take on hym the shield of pacience and studie rathir how to forgete the wronges don to hym than to have hem in mynde. Than lete hym praie god to conuerte hym that han hated hym and so dide to hym; nothir take he no kepe of mannes plesaunce, save be aferd to offend god.

Wherfor if he be tempted in body, chastice hym lest he make the spirit thral. Temptacioun forsoth to whiche man concentith noght is a matier of vertu whiche must oft be hauntid. Noman forsoth knowith whether he be strong or fieble in to the tyme he be tempted. In the same wise a pesible mannes pacience is nat provid vnto the tyme he be with wrong vexed, and than shaltow see whether he be pacient or noo. Many oon semeth pacient that noman grevith, but anon with a litel word—I sey nat of wrong but of correccioun—anon their mynd is turned in to bitterness and angre. And if a word be saide agenst their wil, thei yeven two worse therfor, constrayneng ham to say the worst: from whos counsail god shield me and my wittis.

Thiese fals cavelaciouns of the devil and dartis with whiche he al sheetith at vs, we shuln quenche and distroy thurgh mekeness and swetness of the love of Crist; nothir it is nat to devoide from temptacioun, though it be grevous. For evir the gretter is thi bataile, evir the gloriousour is the victorie and higher thi corowne, as saith the psalmyst: "Blissed is that man that suffrith temptacioun, for whan he is provid he shal have the corowne of lif, the whiche god hath behote to al his lovers."¹⁰⁴ Than doute the nat, for (f.24^b) thou art in the wey of perfeccioun, if despite be to the as praisynges, and pouert as riches, nede is a feste; and if therwith, trowe wele thou suffre and fal nat in nothyng from thyn hie thought. Flee thou it and shone it and be it to the abhomynable, in somoche as thou maist the vayne praisyng of the people, for that is most commendable if thou be worthi to be praised. For flattery tungis many men disceiven and bakbityng lippis many men distroyen. Thogh

¹⁰⁴ Jas. i, 12.

fauour and worship forsoth thou shalt despise, enemyte, haate, and bakbityng gladly thou shalt suffre; and so thurgh disclaundre thou shalt come to goode loos, bi tribulaciouns and scornynge to heavenly realmes cease nat [to] high the thiderward.

Ofttymes we fall, that bi many fallynges we may be lierned after to stond sikerer. For a strong man of nothyng is aferd; nothir the pacient man in non aduersite is sory. As it is written: "The rightwisman shal neuer be sory, whatsoever bifaal hym."¹⁰⁶ In this wise no wonder, if thou be disposed, al maner of temptacioun thou shalt ouercome, al maner of malice thou shalt qwenche. Tho that han troublid the thou shalt see wrecchis or worse, and to Crist with al thi mynd thou shalt cleve too.

DE ORACIONE. CAPITULUM SEPTIMUM.

If thou be put in temptacioun or tribulacioun, anon renne to thi praier. And if thou pray clenly thou shalt have help. And sum while ther comen in mannes hert thoughtes whiche disparagen his wittis and maken hem vagaraunt in vayne thynges; and so ravisshen the herte to dyuers vanytees, nothir wil nat suffre the herte to stonde in holy praier to praisyng and worship of god. In tyme of suche temptacioun, it is goode for a while to leve praier and to take to heavenly meditacioun, in to the tyme thou feele thi wittis in more stabilnes, and than fulfil thi praier.

If any man forsoth bien whiche al maner of occupaciouns leven for goddis love, and above al thynges besetten their hertis in hevynly meditacioun, in to the tyme thei feelen their wittis in holy praier, I wene that¹⁰⁶ thurgh the grace of god within short tyme thei shuln fynde a stable hert to love god and to pray god; and nat fleyng aboute now in to a fantasie and now in to another; but rather thei shuln rest on tranquillite and pees euerlastyng. Moche forsoth it bryngith a man to; stabilnesse of mynde is to be busy and perseuer-aunt in praier and devoutly to say the psaltier (f.25). For with busy praier we ouercom devils, and their awaites and their assautis we distroie and bryng to nought. Thei bien fieble and without strength while that we perseuere vnouercom in praier.

Tho men whiche han long tyme in praier of custume, othir while thei fynde the more fervent swetnes and desir in praier. And while that fervent swetnes is in hem it is goode to perseuere in praier and nat to leve of that, for the corruptible body oft happith;¹⁰⁷ than is it profitable to do sumwhat ellis that is honest, as to bethynk in holy scripture, or on the lives of holi seyntis; so that thi thoughtis bien neuer moeved from god, and than whan thou makest the redy to pray, thi praier and devocioun wiln bien the more devoute and fervent than it was afore.

¹⁰⁶ *Prov.* xii, 21.

¹⁰⁶ That is repeated in the Ms.

¹⁰⁷ Something evidently omitted; cf. Comper (p. 220): "When they cease—that often happens because of the corruptible flesh—they may turn to read holy scripture, or do some other profitable thing, that they suffer not their thought to wave from God, so that when they rise to pray again they may be quicker than they were before".

Than forsoth we pray verily whan we thynk on nonother thyng, save al our entent wee besette in god and our myndis with the fuyre of the holigost [bien] enflawmed and lightned. And so without doute thurgh the mervailous influence of goddis goodenes so in vs swetnes of praiër shalbe founden. For the love of [god]¹⁰⁸ arisith of the innermost¹⁰⁹ swetnes of oure hertis, and al our praiër shalbe with grete desire and effect, nought rennyng fast in our praiërs, save sownyng tretably euery sillable. With grete cry and lamentacioun and inward desire we shuln offere to god our¹¹⁰ inward herte and fervent love, that praiërs so of our mowthes lightned with the fuyre of the holigost ascendith in to the sight of god in odour of swetnes. And than grete joy is praiër to hym that praiseth, for while he perseuerith in oreisoun, mervailous swetnesse from hevene is shad in to hym; and the praiër so made with sorowe is chaunged in to grete joy.

Here sum men bien vndirnome whiche taken more heede to meditacioun than to praiër, knowyng nat that the word of god is a fuyre wherthurgh the filth of synnes bien clensed; and the myndes of hem that praien bien enflawmed, seieng first we wiln taken vs to meditacioun and in that wise stablisshe oure hertis. And bi somoche thei comen to stablenes of herte, wel the latter, in somoche as thei be nat comforted in contynuel praiër. And though we may nat stable our hertis anon at our owne wil in praiër, nother gadre our wittis that bien in vanitees disparpled, therfor shal we nat lette; save lete vs studie a litel and litel how we may growe in to swetnesse of praiër and stabilite of thought, so that at the last Jhesus Crist fouchesauf to stable our hertis. To whiche holy meditacioun helpith gretely if it excede nat mesure and maner (f.25^b).

DE MEDITACIONE. CAPITULUM viii^m.

Meditacioun forsoth is goode often tyme to remembre, and to have in mynde the passion and the deth of Crist, hov many bittir peynes and wrecchidnessis he suffred wilfully for vs and for our helth in goyng and prechyng: hunger, thurst, cold and hete, rebukes and cursynges suffryng; so that it shuld nat seeme to vs vnprofitable seruauantis grevous to folowe our lord and emperour. Whoso saith that he dwellith in god, the same wey and lif as god vsid, he must go and folowe. As Crist seith bi Jeromye: "Remembre and have in thi mynde of my povert, my deth, the bitterness of the galle,¹¹¹ wherthurgh from this world I went to my fader."

This remembraunce forsoth, or meditacioun, confoundith the devil and al his subtil imagynaciouns, distroieth fleshly tempta-

¹⁰⁸ The word *god* seems to have been omitted here. The corresponding passage in Harvey's reprint of Misyn's translation (p. 118) is: "Thus in vs truly a meruelus plente of godis gudenes is fun, for of the inhirliest mergh of our hartis sall rise the lufe of god". Miss Comper's rendering of the passage (p. 220) runs: "Thus truly a marvellous plenteousness of God's goodness is found in us; for from the innermost marrow of our hearts shall the love of God rise".

¹⁰⁹ The Ms. has *in the most*.

¹¹⁰ Ms. *god with our*.

¹¹¹ Cf. *Lam.* iii, 19.

ciouns. It quenchieth and makith mannys mynde to god and clarieth and purgith it and liftith vp mannes mynde. I weene that this meditacioun to al suche as bien newly conuerted to Crist is more profitable than any thyng ellis. Therfor forsoth god his manhode is putte tofore vs, in whiche man in the meane tyme is delited, in whiche he hath matier both to be glad and sory. Joy he hath for the certaynte of his redempcioun; sorow he hath for the foul horribilnes of his synne to do away so mervilous an host, that to god the fader is offred. For a rude, fleshly lusted man in contempla-cioun of the godhed is nat ravished, nothir is nat made spirituel but if his fleshly lustis that lette hym be bynome hym. And whan he bigynneth to treade the world vndirfoote so that no worldly imaginacioun may lawgh hym to skorn; thanne without doute he is admytted of god to hier grace, so that in the love of the godhed hugely he shalbe gladded. Sum men and wymmen bien reioiced in thynkyng of the joy of the blissed aungels and of holy soulis that in hevene bien solaced with Crist, and this thought parteyneth to holy contempla-cioun. And other thynken of the wrecchidnes of mannes condicioun and of his foulnes and dispute in their thoughtis of the madnesse of man, that he for a litel vanite whiche the world shewith to vs in this present lif, he forgetith the blisses invisible in the euerlastyng lif. And other disposen their meditaciouns in suche wise, that nothyng they seyn, nother speken but that the whiche sownyth to the praisyng and the desire of god hereformer. And hym thei love as it is possible to weygoers to heaveneward is hym to love. To this forsoth meditacioun comyth noman save thei that han the grete exercise in the livynges tofor rehersed. Ther is yit another thyng of livyng whiche makith a man most contemplatif above al the remenaunt.

For as ther bien dyuers (f.26) werkis and travailes of god his chosen men, so dyuers bien ther meditaciouns. For al the streames whiche of oo well procedith, to oon ende thei drawe and to oon blisse thei comen, or bien brought, but by dyuers weyes, that is to say, bi oo charite whiche is more in oon than in another. And therfor saith the psalmyste: "Leede thow me in the patthis of thi rightwisnes,"¹¹² as who saith, ther is oo rightwisnes, but patthis ther bien many thurgh whiche men bien brought to the joy of euerlastyng lif; for while al beyng in the oonhed of charite bien of dyuers merites, in oo rightwisnes by dyuers patthis [thei] bien brought in god. Sum gon bi the neither patth, sum bi the middil patth, and sum bi the overest patth. The overest patth is grauntid to hym whiche was predestynat tofore al tymes to love Crist best,—nat bicause he doeth more labour than another, more goode yevith than another, more payne suffrieth than another, save for he more lovith than another. The whiche love is brennyng swetnes, and in al his werkis he sechith after reste.

Ther may no man sette hymself in non of these pathis; but suche path he taketh as god hath chose hym too. Othir while thoo

¹¹² Ps. xxxiii, 3.

that seemen to vs in the highest degre bien in the lowest and also the contrarie; thoo that seemen to vs in the lowest degre bien in the highest. For that whiche is in the inward of mannes thought, it is knowen alonly to god and to nonother creature. Save the werkis of man and his deedis outward in sight of men is knowen to man. And that is, after the disposicioun of the thoughtis, meditaciouns, or desires, to whom thilk patth or patthis bien ordeigned and dressed; whiche may be knowe to no man bi werkis outward who of hem is more worthy or lasse tofore god. Therfor grete folie it is to any man to deme or to say of god his chosen men, oon is more worthy than another, or of bettir livyng; for hwi their thoughtis and holy meditaciouns both [bien] vnknown vnto hem. For and they myght have knowlache therof, lawfully than myght they deme who were bettir and who wer worse.

Therfor god wil that thought to every creature be in vncerteine and nat knowen, lest sum man thei wolden to gretly dispise, or to sum do to grete worship. For without doute if man myght see the inward entent of men, thei wolden worshippen hem as god his chosen men, as foul men and stynkkyng thei wold dispise; and othir whiche thei sette nat by, nother wold nat torne their fase to looke on hem, as most welbiloved to god and as holy aungels thei wold worship hem. Forsothe the goode thoughtis and meditaciouns of god his chosyn men, from god thei comen and suche (f. 26^b) thoughtis thurgh his grace in hem he shedith, whiche to their estate and condicioun he seeth most covenable and convenient. Therfor thow maist tel me thy thoughtis; but whiche to the shuln bien most spedeful or most gracious I neuer nother can nat tel the, for somoche as I knowe nat nother see nat thyn effect and desire that is gostly inwardis. I trow veraily that thilke meditaciouns in the pleasen more to god and profiten the more or most whiche god hymself hath shad in to thy mynde.

Forsoth neuertheles thow maist have a bigynnyng of other mennys wordis that in mysilf I have proved. If thov dispise the doctryne of doctours and wenyst thisilf to feely¹¹⁸ any bettir wey than thei teche the in their writynges, knowe thow wele thou shalt nat taste of the love of god. For it is a foolis worde to sey, "god taught hem, whi therfor shal he nat teche me?" Here I aunswer the: for thow art nat suche as thei were. Thow art prowde and buystous and stierne; they forsoth wern louly and meke, and asked it nat of god with presumpcioun; save hemsilf thei meked vnder althynges; wherfor thei received of god the science and connyng of seyntes. He taught therfor hem that we in their bookes shuld be lierned.

And if so be that thi thought now desire and sown his praisyng, as me seemyth, thow art than weele disposed. Save the meditaciouns and holy thoughtis the whiche thow feelist most swete of god, tho profiten to the most. To bethynk holy thynges without swetnes

¹¹⁸ So Ms. The Harvey version runs: "Truly if thou despise techynge of doctours, and trow thisilf better may fynde, then tha tech the in ther writynges".

in thi thought; it profitith litil but if it be in suche cause that for neede swetnes is nat feelid.

DE LECCIONE. CAPITULUM ix^m.

If thow covetist to come to the love of god and to have a love brennyng in to heavenly blisses, and to be brought to dispise the vanitees that bien worldly, be thow nat necligent to studie and rede in holy scripture; and namely in suche placis of booke whiche that lierne men vertues, and techith the how to beware of the devils subtil awaityngis; and theras he spekith of god his love and of contemplatief lif, levyng the hard sentences and jugementis vnto the wise disputours, the whiche in holy doctryne han long tyme exercised, whiche helpith vs gretely in goode livyng to profite.

For thurgh that we knowe our defautes in whiche we synne, and also profite how to amende vs and what we shuln shoone and what we shuln subtilly wirke. Thurgh whiche the subtil proef, imagynaciouns of our synnes spirituel, to vs opiny shal appiere and be known. That shal make our hertis to brenne in charitable love and make vs to have in our hertis for our synnes compunccioun, wepyng, and lamentacioun; whiche is to vs a delitable feste of ful swete metis (f.27), with that we theron vs deliten, as it were, in al maner richessis. Save beware that thow applie the nat vnto the science of holy scripture bycause of covetise of worship of favour, or of commendacioun of man, save only to thentent to please god; so that we may have knowlache how we may knowe god and to teche our neighborghs; nat to be holde wise of the people, save rather to occulte our science than to shewe it to commendacioun of oursilf, as it is writen in the psalme.¹¹⁴ That is to say, from idil shewyng of science, the cause of our speche allon, be it to god his praisyng and in amendement of our neighborghs, so that this word be fullid in vs. *Semper laus eius in ore meo*,¹¹⁵ that is to say, euer the praisyng of god be in my mowth; the whiche is whan we desire nat our owne praisyng, but desire to here the praisyng of god. Bi these ix degrees afor reherced thow maist com to clennes of thought and mynde.¹¹⁶

DE PURITATE MENTIS. CAPITULUM x^m.

I tel the now thurgh what clierte god may be seen, whiche may be had in the wey of this mortal lif to hym wardis. In what wise is here in this lif parfit purchast, sith that a man so oft in venial synnes is defoulid? Therfor the feete of seyntis bien to be wassh, for thei taken away the powder from therth. What man is he that may sey "I am [cleene]¹¹⁷ from synne" as who saith, "noman

¹¹⁴ This version omits the quotation from Ps. cxix, 11, but the Latin is given on the margin: "In corde meo abscondi eloquia tua vt non peccem tibi". Cf. Harvey, p. 121; Comper, p. 225.

¹¹⁵ Ps. xxxiv, 1.

¹¹⁶ This sentence is put at the beginning of chap. x in the Misyn version (Harvey, p. 121).

¹¹⁷ Supplied from the Misyn version.

livyng"? for as job saith: "If that I shal be wassh with watres of lif and with veray penaunce, and that myn handis shyne for innocencie of my dedly werkis, neuertheles with synnes venyal thow steynest me, whiche mown nat bien eschewid. And my clothyng, that is to say, my fical flessch shamen me and maken me abhomynable to myself;¹¹⁸ and my sensualite, the whiche that is so brutil and vnstable and redy for to love the delitable worldis glorie, that oft tymes it constreyneth me to synne. And therfor the Apostil saith: "Synne reigne in our mortall body may nought,"¹¹⁹ as who saith: Synne in vs may nat reigne, and yit we may nat be without synne.

The whiche clennes forsoth a man may have here in this lif grete and commendable, if he haunt exercise of studie, of redyng praiers, and holy meditacioun, as tofore is notified. For though he synne other while venialy, yit for his grete and holl entent to god direct and sette, anon it is don away. For the brennyng charite that is in hym consumyth away al maner rust of synne as oo drope of water is consumed in a greate chymny of fuyre. The vertu forsoth of a purgid soule is to have his hert set in god, for in that estate al his thought is set in Crist, and al hys mynde (f.27^b) in to hym stretchith, though he speke or talke with other. For in a cleene conscience nothyng is bittir, nothyng is hard, nothyng sharp; but al thyng is soft and swete. For [of] the clennes of a mannes herte arisith song of joy and swete ditees and myrry disport. Than so huge joy is yoven hym of god, that the melodie of hevene is shad in to his mynde mervously. And bi suche melodious thoughtis a man may knowe that he is in charite,—ye in suche charite that shal neuer mysse hym. In grete drede he livith nought for bodili disease, ne grief, save lest he shuld offende his god, that is his love.

Here I spare to speke further, for me seemyth mysilf a grete wrecche. For oft is my body turmentid and temptid, though in these wordis aforsaide both the love of god and contemplatief lif bien contenyd. Neuertheles sumwhat therof more specially for your profite hereafter is to be saide.

DE AMORE DEI. CAPITULUM xi^m

O mi blissed maker and former, the whiche art the swete and delitable light vnto bihold, shewe thi visage and thi sight of my gostly eye inward with thyn vncreat light; and my mynde with thy beames lightne, that with so swetely of al vncleennes clensid, and thurgh the gift of thi grace made mervilous and glorious, and swiftly flee in to the highnes of thi most myrry love; and with that savour brenne hir wherthurgh that I may sit and reste in the, Jhesu my Saviour, joyeng in heavenly swetnesse, as a man ravissshed goyng, sette stable in biholdyng of blis invisible, and in nothyng save that is heavenly delited.

¹¹⁸ In the Misyn translation (Harvey, .p. 121) the Latin of the quotation from Job (ix, 30-31) is given before the English.

¹¹⁹ Rom. vi, 12.

O euerlastyng love, set in fuyre my wil and soule for to love the, god, that nonother fuyre brenne me but the love of the, O gooode Jhesu, who may yeve me to feele the, how moche now thow maist be felt and seen. Shede the out in the bowels and lymes of my soule. Com thow in to myn herte and fulfil it with thi most clier swetnes. Make my soule and mynde drounken with the wyne of thi swete love; that al evils of worldly visious and scornynge and imagynaciouns forgetyng and the only biclippyng, I may be glad and make joy in god my saviour. From hensforward, most swete lord, go neuer from me, save busily abide with me in thi swetnesse; for allone thi presence is my most solace, and thyn absence allone leedith me in sorowe.

O holigost whiche spirist wher thow wilt, com thow to me and take me to the, whom thow hast formed with yiftes. Chaunge this bittir livyng worldly to heavenly swetter than hony; and so chaungid, I may dispise and cast away althyng that is in this world. Thi spirituel giftes thurgh thi graunt resteyve, and (f.28) passyng with song and joy in to the euerlastyng light with holy love, al to bien made weete or melten. Brenne with thi fuyre my reynes and myn herte, the whiche in thyn awtier shuln brenne for euër! Come, I pray the, thow swete and veray joy! Come, thow swetest and most able to be desired! Come, my welbelovid, the whiche art al the comfort of my soule, beyng sike for love of the and to the suspiryng with ful swete brennyng! Come out; with thyn heete, the pipes of myn herte thow sette on fuyre, and with thy inward light light it with the blisse of thi swete love. And distroy all thynges that bien awaityng to take my mynde or body from holy desire to folie.

In this and suche other meditaciouns thow shalt be delited at sumtyme; to the swetnesse of love thow shalt stire love. Forsoth the soule that is lovyng, in hir nat suffrith to dwel; save she is without ravishyng to that it lovith that the mynde of hir is more ther she lovith than in hirsilf bi whom she feelith and livith. Ther bien forsoth vi²⁰ degrees of the love of Crist, of the whiche degrees to ascende from oon into another, hugely profitith hym that is chose to love. The first love is cald vnable to be ouercome, the ii vnable to be departed, and the iii is cald love singulier. That love forsoth is cald vnable to be ouercome that by no maner of desire may be ouercome; and whan a man wilfully for Cristes love al worldly thynges that shuld let it castith from hym and al maner temptaciouns and fleshly desires he quenchith; whan for Cristes love al maner angwisshes and diseases patiently he suffrith, and with no delite nothir faire speche worldly is ouercome. Al maner of labour is light to a lovier, nother may neuer man lightloker ouercome labour than bi love.

The love forsoth vnable to be departed is this, whan a man with huge love is hette and his mynd with holi thought inseparable to Crist is joyned. In non hour nothir moment he suffrith hym to

²⁰ Misyn says *Thre* (Harvey, p. 123).

passee out of his mynde, but as in his herte he is fast bounde and euer on hym thynkith; to hym he crieth and suspirith in his love to be hold still as a prisoner fettered of dedly synne to bien loosid; and to hym allone whan his desire is to be brought, and most of all that he the name of Jhesus in so moche worshippith and lovith, the whiche name in his mynde diligently restith. Therfor seeke the love of Crist in the herte of god; his lover and dispisour of the world so gretely is growen and woxe, that thurgh nonother desir ne love it may nat be ouercome.

Insuperable it is cald whan forsoth he hath hym in thynkyng, and for nonother encheason hym levyng, nother forgetyng, to Crist he is joynd indepartable and insuperable. And euerlastyng he is cald whan¹²¹ love may be more or hier than this love, sith it is high and euerlastyng. And yit is ther the iii degree the whiche is cald singulier love, of the whiche is the high degree of love; and another is solitarie aloon and singulier, as that oon is euer myghty and that other wil have no felaw (f.28^b). We have many felawis, and yit above alother hold the principalte.

And if thou seekist after any other comfort, other receivest any other comfort than of thi god and lovist hym highly, yit lovist thou hym nat singularly. Bihold therfor how grete and many thynges he suffred and toke vpon hym to make the mercy and vertu to growe. And therfor now sith thou art an high lover of god and maist be a singuler lover whan thou wilt, sette and lete thi love on god and thy mynde ascende vnto the synguler degree; and that is whan al maner of comfort for the comfort of oon, that is thi lord Jhesu, thou forsakist and from the excludist; whan thou thynkest nothyng sufficient to thyn help, nother comfort, save only Jhesus thi saviour.

Therfor the soule that is set in this degree lovith Crist allon singularly; and as that Crist he coveitith alonly in his desires, he livith and to hym suspirith in his tribulacioun. To hym he praieth, in his love he brennyth, and in the same feruently and busily he restith and abidith. Nothyng to hym is sweete, nothyng to hym weele savourith, but that it be in the name of Jhesu, the mynde of the; whiche name is to hym as grete melody and more than is the grete melodie of mynstralcie that men vsen in festis and at the wyne. Whatsumeuer temptacioun mowe of hymself or bi any excitacioun of any other, anon he castith it out of mynde and tredith it undir foote. Agenst his owne wil he strivith, nother to his owne wil wil he nat accomde. Al maner of placis semyng hym no pleasure to god, hugely and vilansly bi his power he dispisith and wold overthrowe al thyng that in his sight is vnprofitably don. He may nat suffre but if thend condescend to the worship of crist. Al thynges of Crist he may vse and have what he wil for his bilieve, for al worldly thyng is to hym abhomynable and foule but if it bien in goddis name; and for as moche the presence of god to have the vse

¹²¹ Ms. and whan.

everlastyngly, and in that bilieve stidefastly abidith, nothir in his body failith, nother in hert fayntith, ne doutith; save lovith god perseuerantly, for his love althyng suffrith gladly. And¹²² euer the more he livith in that love the more theron he is lightned and tend, and to god more hier is made in contemplacioun solitarie or singulier.

To suche a man no mervaille though solitarie livyng biseemyth and is to hym covenable, the whiche among al other men hath no felawe. For the more that he withynward with holy meditacioun is ravissed, the lasse in worldly thynges outward is he tempted; nother with tho cures or charges of this present lif lette. And thanne is he made as a man inpassible, that is, vnable to suffre grief in soule or payne. For what sorowe that he suffrith bodily, in god he thynkith and is comfortid gostly.

O my soule, cease of this worldly love, and multeplie thow with teeris in Cristes love, that evir with the abide and sweete be to the (f.29) the mynde and speche of hym: to rede of hym, to thynke on hym, to pray to him without ceasyng, to praise hym! O god, my soule to the is devoute; she desireth the to see, from ferre she crieth to the, in the she brennyth, for thi love she is sike! O thow love that neuer shal faile, thow hast ouercom me! O thow everlastyng swetnes and fairnes that hast woundid myn herte! And now am I vndircast, ouercome, and woundid, vnneth I live for joye. And almost I dye, for I am nat sufficient in my corruptible flessch to tel nother sey so greate swetnesse of thi mageste.

All myn herte forsoth is in the love of Jhesu, and in the heete of his love is turned and sette fast, and in to another maner blysse than worldly she is swolwid. To this wrecchid soule, goode lord, have mercy! Shewe thisilf and be to hir leche; sike and defould with synne, I feele mysilf nat sike save in the love of the. For he that the lovith nat, leesith al that ther is; he that the nat folwith maddith. And in the meanwhile be thow my joy, my love, and my desire in to that tyme that I may see the, god of goddis, in Syon.

Charite forsoth is noblest of vertues, most excelent and most sweete, bi whom we can joyne that is loved to the lover, and couple Crist everlastyngly to his welbelovid, that is man his soule. He reformeth forsoth to vs the ymage of the holy Trynite and makith his creature man most like to god his maker. O thow, if of love, moche art thow worth that afore al other creatures chalangist the hiest degre with aungels! The more forsoth any man in his wey, that is in this present lif homward, that is to heaveneward, of the love of god takith; the more in his cuntre, that is hevene, whan he cometh home, he shalbe sublymed, that is in worship and blis enhaunced. O thow syngulier joy of inwarde love, thi lovers byndist with the bondis of vertues, and to heavenly thynges above al worldly thynges thow theym ravissist! O thow diere charite, he [that] hath nat the heere in erth castith away all that he hath! For he that hymself constreyneth in the to be gladded and rejoiced, anon above al erthly thynges he shalbe lift up to the heavenly.

¹²² Ms. *ane*.

Thow boldly the bedchamber of the euerlastyng kyng, thow art nat¹²⁸ shamed to entre to ravissh Crist allon. For he it is whom thow hast sought, whom thow hast loved. Thyn is Crist; hold hym fast, for he may nat faile the ne forsake the, to whom alonly thow hast desired to obey. For without the no werkis bien to Crist plesaunt. Thow althyng makest savowry, thow art the heavenly seete of god. Thow art the felawship of aungels; thow art the mervailous holynes, the sight and biholder of goode deedis, and the lif that withouten end shal laste.

O holy charite, how swete and comfortable art thou, the whiche helist that is broken; vengeaunce thou restorist, the bonde thou delyverist and makist free! Man thou makest felaw with aungels; suters and resters in dedly (f.29^b) synne thou arerist, of lechours benemyst the delite. In this estate or degree of love, voluntarie love, nat lovyng for hymself, save for suche setting hemsilf stidefast in hym that is lovid; nothyng without hym askyng, brennyng hugely, and in the savour of hym swete smellyng; hym in his herte fast byndyng, euere fall in praier axyng in mervelous manere, excedyng hym alonly, to his love strecchyng and al other thynges for his love dispisyng and forgetyng. Reioicyng hym in that he lovith in hym thynkyng and that mynde in thyn herte rebibying and quikenying ageyne; in holy desires evir vpward, streng fallyng into thi love, goyng in clippyng, without piere in kysyng, and thyn herte al molten in the fuyre of his love.

And so the veray lover of god in his livyng kepith non order, nother degree othir desirith. For the more partie in this present lif, the more fervently he is reioiced in the love of god; that purposith he more fervently and more joyfully to love god. Also and he myght lepie, he wold nat trowe hymself at sumtyme to stand stille and in the love of god parfite; but rather the lenger he lived, the more to brenne in the love of god. God of infinite magnificence and inexcogitable of goodenes, vnable to be nombred and of infynite swetnes to al creatures, and to kynde vnable to [be] resceyved, myght neuer of vs so be received nother take as he is in his eternalite and euerlastyngnesse! But now whan mannes mynde bigynnith to brenne in lovedesir of his maker, than is he made personable to take the light vncreat that evir hath bien in the godhed vnformed. And after that inspired and fulfilled with the yiftes of the holigost and vsith, as it is to a mortal body lieful to vse, stieng vp in to the hight of contemplacioun ouer al visible thinges worldly, and is lift vp in to the swetnesse of euerlastyng lif. And whan he is thurghperced with swetnesse of the godhede and with the heete of the brightnes of his maker, than is he offred in sacrifice and brent al in that fuyre to the kyng euerlastyng and that sacrefice worthily accept.

O thou myrry love, ravisshyng love, brennyng love, wilful love, huge love, love vnable to be quenched, the whiche that bryngest al

¹²⁸ *Nat* at end of line, is repeated at beginning of next line in Ms.

mannes soule and inwitte in to thyn bondage, and suffrith hym nothyng to love save only the! Thow chalengist and claymest thyn al thyng that we live by, al thyng that we savour, althyng that we knowe. Therfor be Crist the bigynnyng of our love, for for hym we love and be he thend for whos love we love althyng that is lieful to be loved. Here forsoth parfite love is shewid, whan the intencion of mannes mynde and the privity of workis hid in mannes herte is lift vp in to the love of god; that ther be as moche strength of cleene love as myrth, that no worldly b[1]isse, nothir no fleshly mede, liked tofore, and it had be lieful.

O thow love vndeportable, O thow love syngulier! though tormentis were for wikked (f.30) men, nor hope in hevene for the rightwis of saluacioun might be bilieved lightly, thow coudist nat soone [be] losid from thi love. More suffrable to the it shuld seeme to the to renne in to the mervelous and bitter torment, than oones to synne dedly. Therfor triewly love thow god for the love of god. Ne love thow nonother thyng, nother thisilf, but for goddis love. And therof folowith that in the nothyng is loved save only god. And ellis how shuld god be althyng in althynges, *Omnia in omnibus*, if any thyng rest in man of mannes love?

O thow diere brightnes and cliernesse; O thow cliernes, take thow me to the, and so presente me tofore my maker! Thow forsoth art the Saviour enoynteng, thow art the savour swete smellyng, swetnes pleasyng. The brennyng and heete clensyng and the comfort euermore abidyng, thow makist [men] contemplatief; the yaatis of hevene to thi lovers thow openest; the mowthis of their accusours thow shittest; thow shewist god visible and the multitude of synnes thow huydest. The we praise, the we preche; bi whom we ouercom the worlde, bi whom we joy, bi whom we stie the ladder of hevene. Slide and come to me; in thi swetnesse commende the to me, and I commende me to the withouten end. Amen!

DE CONTEMPLACIONE DEI. CAPITULUM xii^m.

Contemplacioun, or contemplatief lif, hath iii parties: that is to sey, redyng, oreisoun, and meditacioun. In redyng god spekith to vs; in oreisoun we speken to god; in meditacioun angels descenden to vs and liornen vs and defenden vs, lest we erren in our praier and offren our praier to our lord, thankyng hym with vs for our profite, the whiche bien messangiers bitwene god and vs. It is also a meke desire in mannes mynde direct and dresid to god, the whiche mynde whan it comyth to god and he therof delitith, it tornyth ageyn in to mynde. Meditacioun in god is seruice, after lessoun and oreisoun is to be take Rachel his clippynge.¹²⁴

¹²⁴ In Misyen's version (Harvey, p. 127) this sentence is: "Meditacion in god and godly thingis, after prayer and redyng is to be takyn, qwher is the halsyng of Rachell". Miss Comper translates (p. 236): "Meditation on God and godly things, in which is the halsing of Rachel, is to be taken after prayer and reading". In a note on Rachel (p. 265) Miss Comper remarks: "With medieval writers Rachel and Leah in the Old Testament, as Mary and Martha in the New, were symbolic of the active and contemplative life".

To lessoun parteyneth reasoun and inquiryng of trouthe, the whiche that is the free light and wilful that is marked on vs. To prairer longith praisyng, ympnes, devoutly biholdyng, and excesse mervaille; and so in contemplatief oreison is lif other contemplacioun. To meditacioun longith goddis inspiracioun; intolleraunce nat to suffre, wisdom, and wepyng with suspiryng. If any aske what is contemplacioun,—it is hard to deme. Sum seyn that contemplatief is nothyng ellis save the knowlache of privy hid thynges that bien to come, the whiche knovlache, or hauntyng from alother occupaciouns of the world, or of the lettrure of goddis studie in divyne. Other seyn that contemplacioun is (f.30^b) a free sharp biholdyng in the mirror of wisdom, with mervaille hanyngyng.¹²⁵ And other seyn that contemplacioun is a free and a sharp biholdyng of the inwit, to bihold thi mightes that arn disparpled aboute, and gadre hem toguyder. Other seyn and seyn wele that contemplacioun is a joie of heavenly thynges. Other seyn and best seyn that contemplacioun is a joie renne thurgh a mannes herte,—deth of al maner fleshly desires.

And me seemyth [it] is a joy of love receyved in mannes mynde with the swetnes of aungels praisyng. This is the joy whiche is thend of parfite prairer and of high devocioun in our wey homward. This is the joy of our mynde had for hym that euerlastyngly loved, brekyng out spiritually with a shrill voice. And thus deth is a deede endyng and most parfite of al deedis of livyng; wherfor saith the psalmyst:¹²⁶ *Beatus populus qui scit iubilacionem*; Blissed is the people that can be gladd, that is to say, in contemplacioun of god. Noman forsoth that is straunge to god may make joy in Jhesu, nother of the love of hym the swetnes hath tastid. But tho that busily praien and suspire to be het with the fuyre of euerlastyng love, with pacience, mekenes, swetnes, and desire; with al maner clennes of [soule]¹²⁷ and of body to be made cleene; and with spirituel oynement to bien enoynted, in contemplacioun is exalted. Leete hym seeche busily without ceasyng holsum vertues, thurgh the whiche in this lif from the wrecchidnes of synne he may be clensed and in that other lif of al payne free, and in the blissed lif to be glorified. So forsoth in this exile he shal deserve to be hold the joye of almyghti god hymself.

Therfor lete hym nat slouth it: take to holy oreisons and praiers and wacches, and lete hym haunte holy meditaciouns and thoughtes. For sothly thurgh suche meditaciouns and thoughtis and other spiritual labours, as wailyng and wepyng of inward compunccioun, the love of Crist in hym shalbe tend toguyder with al maner of vertues, and yiftes of the hologicost in to his herte shuln be shadde. Therfor late hym bigynne with voluntarie pouert, that while nothyng

¹²⁵ Meaning obscure; Miss Comper renders this sentence: "Others say that contemplation is the free sight into the visioned truths of wisdom, lift up with full high marvel". (pp. 236-7).

¹²⁶ Ps. lxxxviii, 16 (lxxxix, 15).

¹²⁷ Soule supplied from Misyn.

in this world he desirith bifore god and man, sobrelly, rightwisly, and mekely he may live. Nothyng to have is other while neede, but nothyng to desire is grete vertu. We may forth moche have, and yit wiln nothyng; whan suche thyng as we have we kepe nat for bodily lust, we hold it save for neede, as oft tymes he that nought hath moche coveitith. Thyng that is necessarie is parfite wisdom to take and keepe and bihoveful; and ellis were he nat parfite wise, and he wold refuse that he shuld live by.

This manere of livyng is hold and kept among parfite men of lif, that al the worldly riches and vanitees for god his love thei dispisen. And neuertheles (f.31) mete, drynke, and clothyng of the same thei taken to hem; and though it faile at sumtyme, lete hem nat grucche, but thanke and praise god of his sonde; and al superfluite that is more than inowhg euer more refuse. The more forsoth that any man in the heete of evirlastyng light bigynnyth to wax warm, the more he shalbe pacient in adversite. He is made a meke man nat feyned, while that he hymself dispisith and settith litel by; nother for harmes nor for rebukes wilbe stired to wrath. For he makith hymself a busy subiect to holy meditacioun, and is constrained to stie to holy contemplacioun. And the inward sight of his mynde so beyng purged, the more is the greuaunce of his body, the more in inward joye swetely and brennyngly he hym reioicith. Save for suche now go to seeche any other straunge worldly joies, goeth thei from nother at no tyme, walkith with pride; save [he] is delited in hevenly blis and theron hath sette his thought stidefastly. And anon in the love and swetnes of god, as a man that is in swounyng, he is ravished, and in that ravishyng is he mervailously reioiced.

Suche forsoth is contemplatief lif and it be take in due maner. Thurgh long exercise of spiritual werkis we ascende to the contemplacioun and biholdyng of euerlastyng blis. For the sight of mannes mynde is ravished, biholdyng in to hevenly thingis bi figure and speculatief, nat clier, nothir to thi sharp sight. For the while we see it [bi] bileve, we see but as in a myrrour. For though forsoth thyn eye of vndirstondyng constrained [the] to behold in to the spirituall light thurgh holy meditacioun; yit that light, as it is in hymself he seith nat. He feelith he hath be ther, while that the favour and the feruentnesse of that vnestymable light he withholdith in mynde; wherof in the psalme it is writen: *Sicut tenebre eius ita et lumen eius*,¹²⁸ as his derknes is so light is.

For though the derknes of synnes bien vanysshed out of an holy soule and the mynde that was vncleene is clansed and made bright, yit al the while in the body mortal she is constrained to abide, thilke joy vnable to bien spoke of parfite is nat seyn. Wherfor¹²⁹ holy and contemplatief men biholden the visage of god and his blisse,

¹²⁸ Ps. cxxxix. 12.

¹²⁹ Miss Comper renders the Misyn version (p. 239): "Forsooth holy and contemplative men with a clear face behold God. That is either their wits are opened [for to understand holy writ; or else the door of heaven is opened unto them]: that is more".

as in openyng to hem the glofe, as holi scripture thei may vndir-
stonde. Other ellis the doore of hevene to hem beyng opened, that
is, more than al maner of obstacles bitwene hem and god put away
and his eyen so gostly clarified, the heavenly citezeyns than mown
bihold. Sum men forsoth both of these lives han resceyved as men
standyng in derknes nought seyng.

The same maner in contemplacioun, the whiche invisibly light-
neth mannes soule, visible light we seen nat; therfor Crist puttith
his huydyng place in derknes, and yit in a pillar of a clowde to vs
(f.31^b) he spekith. *Vt in Psalmo posint tenebras latibulum suum et
in columpna nubis loquebatur ad eos.*¹⁸⁰ But though it be invisible
and may nat be sene, yit it is delectable and swete that is felt; and
in that forsoth it is parfite love. For suche a man in his fleshly
body here walkyng can nat be joied but in god; nothir nothyng wiln
ne desire but only god and for the love of god. Here it appierith
that holynes is nat in reryng of mannes herte, or teris wepyng, othir
in other almesdedis outwarde; save only in the swetnes of parfite
charite and in the contemplacioun heavenly. Manyon wetith hymself
with tearis and afterwaridis tornyth ageyn to evil, but was ther neuer
man that defoulid hymself with worldly solaces, after that he in
euerlastyng love veraily is reioiced. To wepe and to make sorowe
and waile for synne is here occupacioun [for tho] that now bien
newe conuerted and penitent in their bigynnyng; but o joye passyng
in contemplacioun is in parfite lyvers. Therfor though any man
long tyme hath forthought his synne, and the synne bityng in his
conscience knowe he wele that; yit he hath do no parfite penaunce.
And that while lete teeris be his brede both day and nyght; for if
that first he yeve hymself [nat] to wepyng for his synnes in suffryng
to god; to the swetnes of his contemplacioun to hym [he] may nat
come.

The swetnes contemplatif may nat be had and purchased
with goode holy labour; but with passyng joie enarrable and vnable
to be saide it is goten. For from the bigynnyng of the world in to
this day myght neuer man be ravissed in to the contemplacioun of
euerlastyng love but he that the worldis vanitees partlyth hath for-
sake; and furthermore vsid and hauntid holsum thoughtis and holy
and devout praiers. For so hym bihovith or he come veraily to holy
contemplacioun.

Contemplacioun is labourous, save it is swete and desirable
and delicious. For it gladdith hym that therin labourith and grevith
hym nat. Ther is non that contemplacioun vsith but with grete joye
in herte whan it cometh; but whan it is gon than feelith he hymself
wery. O thov goode labour, the whiche that mortal men dressen
hem to lierne; O thow noble and mervailous busynes wherthurgh
that man therin sittyng and restyng werkyn to the most perfeccioun
of livyng! It bihovith forsoth that he that is contemplatief have

¹⁸⁰ Ps. xviii, 11.

grete rest in mynde both and in body, the whiche the fuyre of the holigost veraily inflawmyth.

Manyon forsoth can nat hold haliday in their mynde, nother put out of their thoughtis vnprofitable meditaciouns nor idel thoughtes, for thei mown nat fulfil the wordis writen in the psalme: *Vacate et videte quod ego sum deus*,¹⁸¹ that is to say: takith heede and bihold for I am god. Manyon is vacant and takyng heede in his (f.32) body; his hert is vacant and rennyng aboute worldly fantasies. Thei may neuer taste, ne deserue to see how swete our lord is, nothir how swete is the hig[h]nesse of his contemplacioun. For euery contemplatief man lovith solitariynes, to be allone; in somoche as he wold nat of his holy meditaciouns be lettid, but bi somoche to haunte the more fervently and busily his desires. And whan it is certayn that the lif contemplatief is more worthi and more meritory than is the actif lif; and that al contemplatief men¹⁸² as god wil, solitary lif loven; and for the swetnes of contemplacioun principaly bien in his love brennyng.

Wherfor sothly it appierith that the high solitary men bien highed and made grete thurgh the yift of contemplacioun, and so styen to the degre of most perfeccioun; but if haply that sum bien in suche estate that thei areche the highe estate of contemplacioun, and yit they cease nat to fulfil thoffice of prechyng of goddis word. Thiese solitarie men, though thei bien high in solitarie contemplacioun, that is to sey, their myndes sette al in contemplacioun and goddis seruice for notable neede of their neighborghs, in that thei ouercome and deserue the corowne before their felawes for their predicacioun.

A man that is veray contemplatief, his hert and desire so gretly in that invisible light is set so fast, that oft tymes men demen hym as a foole, or a man nat vndirstandyng nothir feelyng what men seyn or don to hym. And [it] is for this cause, for his mynde in¹⁸³ the love of Crist is so inflawmyd, that his bodily wittis bien chaungid; and departith his wittis and hymself from al maner worldly deedis and yieldith hym to god as a newe man chaungid in livyng. In the same wise whan a man his herte and will is in the myrthe of the euerlastyng love of god, gadrith hymself and perseuerantly therin abidith, after of worldly delites hath no joy. And for as moche as with the inward love of god he is deliciously ifed, that it is no mervaille though he sey thiese wordis: "Who may yeve or graunt to me that I withouten me may fynde the and kisse the?"¹⁸⁴ That is to sey: after deth hath soluyd the body from the soule and thanne deserve to fynde the and see the face to face and with the evir-lastyngly to be joyned? And so noman here urtherly me dispise.

The devoute, forsoth soule that is betaken to lif contemplatief and fulfilled with euerlastyng love, al the vayneglorie of this present

¹⁸¹ *Ps.* xlvj, 10.

¹⁸² *lif* marked for erasure before *men* in the Ms.

¹⁸³ *is* repeated before *in* in the Ms.

¹⁸⁴ *Cant.* viii, 1.

world dispisith and reioicith hirsilf alonly in Jhesu, and coveitith euir of this wrecchid world to be dissolved. And why, for among the worldis louers nat desiryng to live hevenly she is put to dispite hugely. She is -ever sike in love and disease, for goodis (f.32^b) love she desireth. Wherthurgh god may yeve hir to be with holy spiritis in the qweris of aungels; wher and whan from that tyme afterward the worldis aduersite may no lengger noye nother scorne.

Therfor nothyng is more profitabler, nothyng myrrier, than is the grace of contemplacioun, The whicc vs from helpeynes liftith vp and presentith vs to god. What thyng is grace? It is the bigynnyng of blis; and what thyng is perfeccioun but grace brought to an end? In the whiche is kept for vs a myrry blisse and a gracious myrth, a glorious evirlastyngnes and euerlastyng joy, with seyntis to live, with aungels to dwelle. And that that is above all: veraily to knowe god, parfitly to love hym, seeyng hym in the brightnesse and shyneng of his mageste; and with joye and melodie vnable to bien spoke of, euerlastyng hym praise. To whom be worship, joye, and thankynges, world withouten end Amen!

EXPLICIT RICARDUS DE AMPULL.

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THE CHANGES IN THE METHODS OF CARRYING RESERVES UNDER THE FEDERAL SYSTEM CREATES A GREATER DEMAND FOR THE SERVICE AND CREDIT FACILITIES OF PRIVATELY MANAGED BANKING INSTITUTIONS IN RESERVE CENTERS THAN HERETOFORE. *IN CLEVELAND, THE* LOCATION OF FEDERAL RESERVE BANK, NUMBER 4, THE

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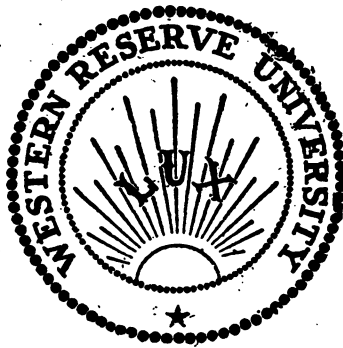
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This series of studies will, it is hoped, include in easily accessible form some of the valuable results of the researches undertaken by members of the various faculties, as well as, by Alumni of Western Reserve University. All serious students connected with any department of the University are therefore cordially invited to submit to the Editor pieces of original work which they desire to have published. If the piece of work represents a genuine contribution to the particular field in which it lies, it will be printed in the *Bulletin*. But only such contributions will be accepted for publication. Unfortunately, for some years to come it is feared, the annual issue of these studies will have to be limited to the May number (considerably increased in size when necessary), unless a special fund can be obtained for this purpose.

In order that the contributions from every department of the University may be sure of 'specialist' and fair editorial treatment, an Editorial Committee will assist the General Editor of the *Bulletin* in passing upon articles, the contents of which may be unfamiliar to him. To this end the following members of the University Faculty have kindly consented to serve on the Committee: Professors Arbuthnot (of the department of Economics), Bourne (of the department of History), Emerson (of the department of English), Herrick (of the department of Biology), and Todd (of the department of Anatomy).

WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY BULLETIN

NEW SERIES

VOL. XXII

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LITERARY SECTION SUPPLEMENT

WESTERN RESERVE STUDIES, VOL. I, NO. 6

PETER ALPHONSE'S
DISCIPLINA CLERICALIS

(ENGLISH TRANSLATION)

FROM

*The Fifteenth Century Worcester Cathedral
Manuscript F. 172*

BY

WILLIAM HENRY HULME, PH. D.

Professor of English

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PREFACE

The present edition of Peter Alphonse's *Disciplina Clericalis* is intended to be a preliminary study for the fuller treatment of the subject which I promised several years ago to give in one of the volumes of the publications of the Early English Text Society, but which has not yet been completed. At the outbreak of the war I was in England reading and collecting materials from every possible source. But this work, necessarily broken off in the very midst of things, could not be taken up again during the last five years: so the matter rests where it was left in the summer of 1914. I hope, however, that it will be possible to resume the necessary search after analogues and originals of the various tales of the collection in both ancient and mediaeval literatures at no distant date and to carry it to a successful conclusion in the prospective EETS edition. The edition which is now presented will in the nature of things reach only a limited number of students and readers. But it will be of great practical value, I hope, to all who are interested in the study of mediaeval folk-tales generally, as well as of Peter Alphonse's collection in particular, since it offers a convenient and, it is intended, reliable text of the Middle English version as a much needed basis for all further editorial work.

My interest in the *Disciplina* began some years ago while I was engaged in collecting materials for the EETS edition of the Middle English *Harrowing of Hell and Poetical Gospel of Nicodemus*. But the identification of this unheralded, 'unrubicated' piece in the Worcester Cathedral Ms. was immediately due to the interest and suggestion of Mr. J. A. Herbert (at that time Assistant in the Department of Manuscripts, now Keeper of Manuscripts, in the British Museum), to whose kindness and courtesy I have so frequently been a debtor in recent years.

Since the EETS edition will be amply provided with Introduction, Notes, and Glossarial Vocabulary, in addition to, in all probability, a reprint of the Latin version of the Cambridge University Library Ms. li, 6, 11 in parallel columns with the Middle English, the "critical apparatus" has been for the most part omitted from this edition. Besides, the lack of space in these publications makes it incumbent on the editor to compress the introductory materials into the smallest practicable compass. No attempt has accordingly

been made to treat any phase of the broad subject exhaustively,—not even to give a full bibliography of the literature on the subject. But the titles of a few of the most important works of both a general and a specific character are given, in which the eager student will probably find virtually all the literature on the *Disciplina Clericalis*, as well as on mediaeval tales and fables, recorded.

I have tried to give, in the proper connection (printed in solid type in the text, or occasionally in the footnotes) free English translations from the original Latin for all the *lacunae* of any consequence in the Middle English text, whether they occur as parts of, or complete, individual tales, or as omissions from the connecting dialogues. In making the translations I have had the generous assistance for corrective purposes of Professor Platner of the department of Latin, which enabled me, I trust, to retain the sense and something of the interest of the original without a superfluity of errors. One missing tale has been supplied from the Middle English *Alphabet of Tales* (No. VII), another from Caxton's *Aesop* (No. XII).

In the text an effort has been made to reduce correction and emendation to a minimum, and the essential features of the manuscript have, it is hoped, been preserved. Spelling and capitalization have been altered only when it was felt necessary for the understanding of the text. The punctuation is, on the other hand, entirely my own, that of the Ms. being such as would frequently confuse the reader and convey a wholly false meaning. The abbreviations of the manuscript have not been indicated by the usual italic type; they are comparatively few in number and include, in the main *-er*, *-is*, *n* (*m*), and *u*,—but all of them only occasionally. And even a large percentage of the abbreviations present occur at the ends of lines. Isolated instances of the early English thorn (for *th*), which occur mostly at the ends of lines, have been printed as *th*. Additions to the Ms. text are indicated by brackets.

In general, what was said about the word forms and language of 'The Mending of Life' (see *Western Reserve Studies*. vol. I, No. 4, p. 27f) applies equally well to those features of the *Disciplina Clericalis*. New word-forms occur from time to time which the exigencies of translation required and for the same reason the sentence structure would probably often be found different from that of 'The Mending of Life'. But these peculiarities will receive full treatment in the EETS edition.

INTRODUCTION

I

Peter Alphonse,* the author of the popular mediaeval collection of oriental folk tales or exempla, known as *Disciplina Clericalis*, was, according to his own testimony, born at Huesca in the kingdom of Aragon in the year 1062.† He was a Jew by birth and was known before his conversion by the name or Rabbi Moses Sephardi, or Moses the Spaniard. He was baptized under the name 'Petrus Alphonsus,'—the first part of the name due to the apostle on whose birthday the event occurred, the second part deriving from Alphonso I‡, "the glorious emperor of Spain who was my spiritual father and who received me at the baptismal font."* He was according to Söderhjelm† one of the many Jewish intellectuals of the Middle Ages who served as intermediaries between oriental and occidental culture.

A few years after his conversion he published his *Dialogi*—or *Dialogus contra Judaeos**—in which the Christian Peter defends the doctrines of Christianity against the attacks of Moses the Jew (representing the attitude of the author before his conversion as well as that of the orthodox Jews of his time).

It was probably not far from the same time that the *Disciplina Clericalis* was written. The author had at least already become a Christian,—a fact fully established by the Prolog of the *Disciplina*, which begins: "Petir Alfons, seruauant of Jesus Christ maker of this book," and, "I return thanks to God who is the first without beginning;" and the author closes the Prolog with, "May the omnipo-

*This seems to be the natural modern form of the second part of the name; though such forms as Aldefunsi, Adelfonsi, Amphulsi, Alfunsii, Alfonsi, Alphunsus, Alfonsus, Anfonus, Anfulsus, etc., occur, and our text has Alfons. Cf. Hilka and Söderhjelm *Die Disciplina Clericalis des Petrus Alfonsi*, Heidelberg, 1911. Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte, hrsg von Alfons Hilka. No. I, Introd. p. vii.

†See Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 157, col. 537-38. In the preface to the *Dialogi*, when speaking of his conversion to Christianity and his baptism, he says: "This i. e. his baptism) happened in the year 1106 after the nativity of our Lord and in the 44th year of my life, in the month of July on the birthday of the apostles Peter and Paul. Hoc autem factum est anno a nativitate Domini millesimo centesimo sexto, aetatis meae anno quadragesimo quarto, mense Julio, die natalis apostolorum Petri et Pauli.

‡See Söderhjelm, *op. cit.*; but Labouderie speaks of him (Migne, *op. cit.* col. 531) as "Alphonse VI, king of Castille and Leon."

*Cf. Migne, *op. cit.* col. 538: Fuit autem pater meus spiritualis Alfonsus, gloriosus Hispaniae imperator, qui me de sacro fonte suscepit, quare nomen ejus praefato nomini meo apponens, Petrus Alfonsi mihi nomen imposuit.

†*Op. cit.* p. vii.

*Though the work is so designated by Söderhjelm, Migne *op. cit.* col. 531, also cols. 535-6 and 537-8, always refers to it as *Dialogi*. Labouderie speaks of an edition printed in Cologne in 1536 under the title, *Dialogi lectu dignissimi, in quibus impiae Judaeorum opiniones, et. cet.*; the preface begins: Petri Alphonsi ex Judaeo Christiani Dialogi; and the discussion itself has the following title (Migne, cols. 537-38): *Incipit Dialogus Petri cognomento Alphonsi, ex Judaeo Christiani et Moysi Judaei.*

tent God be my helper in this work." That is to say, the *Disciplina Clericalis* was written (or compiled) not long after the beginning of the 12th century. It is accordingly the earliest complete collection of oriental tales made known to the western world, and one which enjoyed great popularity and very wide distribution in the literatures of western nations during the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteen centuries. One might even say without exaggeration, that the *Disciplina Clericalis* of Peter Alphonse not only made known for the first time a considerable number of those tales which were soon to become the most popular of western literatures, but that it inaugurated in all probability that later universally popular kind of prose fiction called the *Novella*. And though the *exemplum* had for several centuries been employed by the church fathers for illustrating and pointing their sermons, there was probably no collection of exempla, whether culled from sermons of the fathers or derived from other sources, in existence at the time the *Disciplina* was composed*. In Peter Alphonse's work, indeed, the *exemplum* has taken on much more the character of an independent tale, unconnected with any moralizing plan or distinctly religious purpose, than had hitherto been the case.

Nevertheless, there is a decided thread of moral purpose running through the *Disciplina Clericalis*, which shows itself clearly, if not in the individual tales themselves, at least in the dialogues of varying length which, in the original Latin, always serve as connecting links between the successive exempla. But the moral, didactic features of the collection seem to be, either with or without the consciousness of the author, already of less consequence—certainly of less interest—to the reader than the tales themselves in their purely literary and artistic aspects. As compared with the early sermons, therefore, illustrated by isolated exempla, in which the moral and

*On the origin and development of the 'exemplum' see J. A. Mosher, *The Exemplum in the Early Religious and Didactic Literature of England*, Columbia Univ. Studies in English. New York, 1911, chap. I. In the thorough study of the *Disciplina Clericalis* which the present writer hopes to make in the near future in connection with the EETS edition, the questions concerning the origins and analogues of the collection as a whole, as well as of each individual exemplum, will receive detailed consideration. Suggestions regarding the similarity between the *Disciplina Clericalis* and earlier Hebrew treatises will be found in *The Path of Good Men*; a collection of parental instructions to children by authors distinguished in Israel for wisdom and learning, viz.: Rabbi Judah ben Saul Aben Tibbon, for his son, Rabbi Samuel Aben Tibben. The illustrious Rabbi Moses Maimonides, for his son, Rabbi Abraham; being their Last Will for the Instruction of Mankind, etc. Edited from Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, accompanied by an English Translation. By Hirsch Edelman, London 1852. Moreover, Victor Chauvin's *Bibliographie des Ouvrages Arabes ou Relatifs aux Arabes publiés dans l'Europe chrétienne de 1810 à 1885*, vol. (or Part) ix. Liège et Leipzig 1905, is a wonderful storehouse of information of every sort pertaining to the originals, analogues, and the history of the *Disciplina*. Much valuable information and numerous references to the literature on the subject will also be found in *The Seven Sages of Rome*. Edited by Killis Campbell, Boston, Ginn & Co., 1907. 'Introduction'; also in *Middle English Humorous Tales in Verse*. Edited by George H. McKnight, Boston, D. C. Heath & Co. 1913. 'Introduction' and 'Bibliography' (pp. 81-91).

religious purpose is the all important thing, the *Disciplina Clericalis* has inverted the order of human interests and taken a remarkable step in the direction of the inauguration of a wholly new species of prose literature.

II.

Recent studies of the *Disciplina*, in its original Latin form, have demonstrated one fact very clearly which earlier efforts had already made probable: that this work was one of the most popular and widely distributed treatises in the literatures of the Middle Ages*. Hilka and Söderhjelm have described and classified sixty-three different manuscripts of the Latin versions of Peter Alphonse's collection, dating from the 12th century to the 16th, which they found in various libraries of England and the continent. Moreover it has long been known that French translations and adaptations of the *Disciplina* began to be made very early,—one version even in the last years of the 12th and another in the 13th century. These are poetical versions, one of which was published for the first time in the year 1760 by the French scholar Barbazan under the title *Le Castoiment d'un Père à son Fils*. A new edition of this version was published by Méon in vol. ii of his *Fabliaux et Contes des Poètes François des xi, xii, xiii, xiv, et xv Siècles* nouvelle édition. Paris 1808. A French prose translation was also made as early as the end of the 13th century, for one of the Mss. of this translation belongs to the beginning of the 14th century, and another to the middle of the 15th*. In addition to these French versions there are known to be Icelandic, Italian, German, Spanish, and English translations or adaptations of the whole, or a part, of the *Disciplina Clericalis*, all belonging, it seems, to the period of the Middle Ages†. But we only have space here for a brief account of English versions other than that of the Worc. Cath. Libr. Ms. F. 172. The results of the

†See the exhaustive comparative study of the Latin Manuscript versions by Alfons Hilka and Werner Söderhjelm in the *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae*, Tom. xxxviii, No. 4; *Petri Alfonsi Disciplina Clericalis*. I. Lateinischer Text Helsingfors, 1911. Introduction, pp. i-xxix. Part II, which appeared in 1912, contains the *Französischer Prosatext*; and as planned, Part III contains two French poetical versions, and Part IV a discussion of the distribution and influence of the *Disciplina Clericalis* in the literatures of the western world. Parts III-IV have not been accessible to me. Söderhjelm's 'Introduction' to the smaller edition of the *Disciplina*—No. 1 in the *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte* (referred to in this edition by the designation 'Söderhjelm', while the larger Latin edition is referred to as 'I, 1, 2, etc.' or as 'Hilka and Söderhjelm') is important in this connection. For there he gives a list of the important translations of the *Disciplina* in the different languages of the world, as well as of the books about it.

*See Hilka and Söderhjelm *op. cit.* II, Einleitung p. i ff. On p. x of the 'Introduction' there is a description of a catalanian version, the Ms. of which is said to belong to the 15th century.

†Cf. Söderhjelm, *op. cit.* for more details regarding these various translations.

study of the influence which Peter Alphonse's work exerted on mediaeval literature, as shown by quotations of individual tales or by other references to it, can not yet be presented. This point has been treated briefly by Söderhjelm, as quoted above. It is, however, worth noting that numerous collections of exempla and sermons, such as those of Jacques de Vitry*, Albertano da Brescia, odo of Cheriton, Étienne we Bourbon, Nicholas Bozon, Robert Holcot, Alphabetum Narrationum, Gesta Romanorum, etc., etc., from the 13-15 centuries, contain adaptations and quotations from Peter Alphonse in profusion.

Thirteen tales of the collection are included in the 15th century English version of the 'Alphabet of Tales'† and fourteen were printed by William Caxton in his *Book of the Subtyl Historyes and Fables of Esope*, which he himself tells us "were translated out of Frensshe into Englysshe at Westmynstre in the yere of oure Lorde MCCCCLXXXIII.*" This book of Caxton is almost a literal translation of Jules de Machault's *Livre des subtilles Hystoires et Fables de Esope*, translatees de Latin en François, etc., in the year 1483‡. Machault in turn made a comparatively free translation of Steinhöwels *Aesop*, and apparently from the Latin compilation arranged by Steinhöwel himself§, rather than from his German version. Caxton follows Machault in omitting the last two of Steinhöwel's fifteen¶ tales of 'Adelfonso' from his translation. They all three also include one tale—No. xii—which is not in any

*Ed. Crane; cf. Herbert, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. iii, London, 1910, p. 1 ff.

†Ed. by Mary. M. Banks for the EETS vols. 126-127 (1904-1905). As the third volume has not yet appeared "a definite attribution of authorship" of the original *Alphabetum Narrationum*, formerly ascribed to Etienne de Besançon, must continue to wait. Cf. Banks, vol. 127, introductory 'note.'

*The book is a large folio Black Letter, profusely illustrated, and it contains some 210 pages of the Fables of Aesop, about 30 of the Fables of Auyon, and 18-20 pages of the Fables of "Poge the Florentyn," besides those of Peter Alphonse. In the epilogue to the book (ff. 142-142b) Caxton gives 1484 instead of 1483 as the date of printing: "And here with I fynyshe this book, translated and emprynted by me William Caxton at Westmynstre in thabbey; and fynysshed the xxvi daye of March, the yere of oure Lord MCCCCLXXXIII, and the fyrst yere of the regne of Kyng Richard the Thyrdde." It is therefore evident that the translation was begun in the year 1483 and finished near the beginning of the following year, 'Old Style' of course. This book was re-edited with an interesting 'Introduction' and a 'Glossary' by Joseph Jacobs for David Nutt in 1889; *The Fables of Aesop*, as first printed by William Caxton in 1484, with those of Avian, Alfonso and Poggio, 2 vols., London, 1889.

‡According to Söderhjelm, *op. cit.* p. xiv, though Oesterley says (*Steinhöwels Aesop*, hrsg. von Hermann Oesterley, Bibl. d. litt. Vereins in Stuttgart, Bd. 117, Tübingen 1873, Einleitung, p. 3): "The French translation of Julien Macho appeared first in the year 1484 and was reprinted at least ten times in the next fifty years."

§Oesterley *op. cit.* p. 2: "Steinhöwel was not only the translator of it, i. e. the Aesop of Planudes—Kimicius, etc. . . . but also the original compiler of the work which immediately on its publication became one of the most popular of the early printed books in the continent; besides the translation of Machault and indirectly, of Caxton, a Dutch translation of Steinhöwel's compilation was published in 1485, an Italian one by Tuppò in 1485 (Söderhjelm p. xiv), a Bohemian one in 1487, and later versions in both Spanish and Catalanian."

¶In reality 16, for he merges the first two tales: (1) 'The Half Friend,' (2) 'The Perfect Friend' into one, in which he is followed by both Machault and Caxton.

of the known manuscript versions of the original *Disciplina Clericalis*. Caxton designates this tale as follows: 'The xii fable is of a blynd man and of his wyf.' In Steinhöwel's compilation⁵ the Latin title is, 'De ceco et eius uxore ac rivali;' the German, 'Von dem blinden und synem wyb.' Machault has, according to the Black Letter edition (without date) which belongs in the British Museum, 'La xii fable dun areugle et de sa femme.' Now since Hilka and Söderhjelm do not mention this tale as being in any one of the 63 Mss. of the Latin versions of the *Disciplina Clericalis* which they have so carefully described and collated, it is not improbable that Steinhöwel incorrectly attributed this tale to Peter Alphonse (or one of his sources had done it) in gathering the materials for his compilation. The tale falls immediately after that of 'The Old Procureess with the Weeping Bitch'—one of the most popular of Peter Alphonse's collection—which is No. xiii of the original as arranged by Hilka and Söderhjelm,⁶ and immediately before the story of 'The King's Tailor and his Servants'—No. xx of the Hilka-Söderhjelm edition and xviii of the earlier edition as reprinted by Migne (*op cit.* cols. 693-694.) On account the interest of the tale and for the sake of giving the reader an opportunity to compare the English of the Worc. version with that of Caxton (both being probably of about the same date) I reprint it herewith complete according to the original edition.

III.

The Blind Man Deceived by His Wife.

There was sometyme a blynd man whiche had a fayre wyf, of the whiche he was much Jalous. He kepte her so that she myght not goo nowher, for euer (Jacobs 'ewer') he had her by the hand. And after that she was enamoured of a gentil felawe, they coude not fynde the maner ne no place for to fulfille theyr wyll. But notwithstanding the woman whiche was subtile and Ingenyous counceyllled to her frende that he shold come in to her hows and that he shold entre in to (Jacobs omits 'to') the gardyn, and that there he shold clymme vpon a pere tree. And he did as she told hym.

And when they had made theyr enterpryse, the woman came ageyne in to the hows and sayd to her husbond: "My frënd, I praye yow that ye wylle go in to our gardyn for to disporte (Jacobs 'despose') vs a lytel whyle there." Of the whiche prayer the blynd man was wel content and sayd to his wyf: "Wel my good frend, I

⁵ Oosterley, p. 326ff.

⁶ But No. xi in the earlier editions of Labouderie (Paris 1824) and Schmitt (Berlin 1827.)

will wel; lete vs go thyder." And as they were vnder the pere tree she sayd to her husband: "My fremde, I praye the to lete me goo vpon the pere tre, and I shalle gader for vs bothe some fayre peres." "Wel my frend," sayd the blynd man, "I wylle wel and graunt therto." And when (f. 132^b) she was vpon the tree, the yong man begannn (*sic*) to shake the pere tree at one syde and the yonge woman at the other syde. And (Jacobs repeats 'and') as the blynd man herd thus hard shake the pere tree and the noyse whiche they made, he sayd to them: "Ha! a euylle woman, how be it that I see hit not, neuertheles I fele and vnderstande hit well. But I praye to the goddes that they vouchesauf to sende me my syght ageyne." And as soone as he had made his prayer, Iupiter rendryd to hym his syght ageyn. And whanne he sawe that pagent vpon the pere tree he sayd to his wyf: "Ha! vnhappy woman, I shalle neuer haue no Ioye with the." And bycause that the yonge woman was redy in speche and malycious she ansuerd forthwith to her husband: "My frend, thow arte wel beholden and bounden to me, for bycause and for the loue the gooddes haue restored to the thy syght; wherof I thanke alle the goddes and goddesses whiche haue enhaunced and herd my prayer. For I desyryng moche that thow myght see me cessed neuer day ne nyght to pray them that they (Jacobs 'theye') wold rendre to the thy syghte. Wherefore the goddesse Venus vysyibly shewed herself to me and sayd that yf I wold doo (Jacobs omits) somme playsyr (Jacobs 'playsyre') to the sayd yonge man, she shold restore to the thy syght. And thus I am cause of it." And thenne the good man sayd to her: "My ryght dere wyf and good frende, I remercye and thanke yow gretely; for ryght ye haue and I grete wronge."

IV.

The Middle English version now first published as a whole⁷ is preserved in the Worc. Cath. Libr. Ms. F. 172,⁸ which probably originated in the latter half of the 15th century. The *Disciplina Clericalis* is number 15 in the order of the contents of the Ms. and is contained in ff. 118^b—138. The piece begins at the top of the page without any title or rubric, and there is nothing to indicate the end but the spacing and the beginning of the immediately following piece near the middle of the page (f. 138): 'Incipit Epistola Alex-

⁷ One of the tales, No. xxix, was printed by the present writer as a contribution to the study of 'The Wager Cycle,' in *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. xxiv pp. 218-222 (Nov. 1909). This tale and two others constituting the last three tales of the Worc. Cath. Libr. collection, all of which are apparently spurious later additions to the original, were also printed, along with their Latin originals, by Hilks and Söderhjelm (*op. cit.*, I. Anhang II, pp. 68-73).

⁸ This Ms. has often been described in recent years, so that it will not be necessary to repeat the description here. Cf. Hulme, 'A Valuable Middle English Manuscript,' *Mod. Philol.* vol. iv, p. 67 ff. (July, 1906); Floyer and Hamilton, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts Preserved in the Chapter Library of Worcester*. Oxford, 1906; Hulme, *The Harrowing of Hell*, etc., EETS (extra Ser.) 100, London, 1907, Introduction, p. xlviii ff.; Hulme, *Richard Rolle of Hampole's Mending of Life*, from, etc., *Western Reserve Studies*, vol. I, no. 4, 'Introduction,' pp. 5-11.

andri Magni Regis Macedonum ad Magistrum suum Aristotilem'. There are forty lines to a page and the writing tho' rather small is easy to read.

The Worcester version omits eight of the tales found in the complete Mss. of the original Latin *Disciplina* (cf. Hilka & Söderhjelm *op. cit.*), but as noted above, there are three tales added at the end.⁹

The Middle English translation was carelessly made; there are numerous instances in which the translator seems to have been in a hurry, or ignorant of the Latin text he was following. Many of these crudities are pointed out in the footnotes of this edition. The stories, moreover, do not always follow the order they occupied in the original, and occasionally a passage has been taken out of its natural setting and connection in the Latin version by the translator (or perhaps by the copyist of the Worc. Cath. Ms.) and shifted to a different part of the collection. Indeed, the confusion about the meaning of the Latin and the arrangement of the materials often suggest the probability that we have to do with a careless copy of an earlier original. One might, to be sure, discover that many of these peculiarities have their basis in the Cambr. Univ. Libr. Ms. (li, vi, ii, ff. 95-116) of the Latin version, which, as we have already seen, is the source of the final three tales of our collection. Hilka and Söderhjelm, however, have not recorded many notable textual differences between this and the other complete manuscript versions—except the three spurious tales—either in their introductory discussions¹⁰ or their foot notes.

⁹ The missing tales are Nos. VII, VIII (cf. I, 13), XII (I, 16, l. 9), XVIII (I, 20), XXI (I, 29), XXIX (I, 41), XXXI, XXXII (I, 43-44); the additions (Nos. XXVIII-XXX) seem to have corresponding originals in only one of the Latin Mss., viz. Cambridge Univ. Libr. li, 6, 11, ff. 113a-114 (see Hilka & Söderhjelm *op. cit.* I, Anhang II. The identification of this Ms. and the definite determination of its relation to the Worc. Cath. Libr. Ms. F. 172, is only one of the many merits of this excellent edition of the Latin *Disciplina Clericalis*.

¹⁰ Cf. *op. cit.* I, pp. xi, xvi, xix—where the editors remark: "C¹ has the noteworthy assertion (I, i) that Petrus was the physician of Henry I, king of England" and "the copyist was in general fond of making additions." They also observe that the interpolation of the three spurious tales just after the closing words of the piece caused the shifting of exempla xx, xxii, xxiv from their natural positions in the collection to the end of this version—also pp. 68 and 72.

PETER ALPHONSE'S DISCIPLINA CLERICALIS

A COMPLETE MIDDLE ENGLISH VERSION

FROM

THE WORCESTER CATHEDRAL LIBRARY Ms. F. 172.

PROLOG¹¹ (f. 118^b)

Petir Alfons seruauunt of Jhesu Crist, maker of this booke saith: Thankynges I do to god the whiche is first and without bigynnyng, to whom is the bigynnyng and the end and of all goodenes the fulfillyng Sapiens and wisdam; whiche sapiens and reason whiche aspirith vs with his wisdam, and of his wounderful reason with cliernes shyneth and with manyfold maner of the holigost with his grace vs hath enriched. Forwhi therfor god though I beynge a synner vouchestauf to cloth me with many maner wisdams, ne that the lantern to me taken be nat hid vnder a bussel; but with stiryng of the same spirite to the profite of many to make and compowne this booke I am monysshed and warned, beseechyng hym as to the bigynnyng of this my litel booke he enjoyne a goode end; me also kepe that nothyng in it be saide that to his wil be displeasure. Amen¹²

The paragraph omitted from the Introduction (see I, 1-2) by the English translator runs as follows: May God then who constrained me to write this little book and to translate it into Latin aid me in the undertaking. For when I wished to know by my own efforts the source of human life, I discovered that intellect was given to man by God for this purpose, that he might be zealous in the study of sacred philosophy as long as he lives; for by this he will gain more and better knowledge about his Creator and will strive to live temperately and know how to protect himself against threatening misfortunes; and he may thus follow that path in the world that leads to the kingdom of heaven. And if he lives according to these precepts of sacred discipline, he will fulfill the purpose for which he was created and will deserve to be called perfect. Moreover, I have considered that man's nature is weak, so that he must be assisted and instructed in a few things if he is not to fall into a state

¹¹ The prolog indicated in Ms. only by paragraphing.

¹² The long paragraph immediately following in the Latin is omitted in the English. There is in fact evidence everywhere that this translator (or possibly the copyist of this Ms.) was both ignorant of the Latin and careless. He pays no attention to prolog or epilog; he frequently omits words, clauses, sentences, and sometimes extensive passages from the original; he occasionally transfers a passage from its natural connection in the Latin; and the instances of his misunderstanding and mistranslating the Latin are almost countless.

I shall attempt to supply free translations, for the sake of the connection in the narrative, of all omissions of any length and importance. Wherever there is any doubt as to the meaning of a word or passage the original Latin will also be given in the footnotes.

of utter weariness. He must also preserve his strength of mind, so that he may more easily remember the means by which his nature is to be softened and sweetened. For if this is forgotten he will require many other things to make him recall what he has forgotten.

I have therefore composed this little book partly from the sayings and warnings of philosophers, partly from Arabic proverbs and admonitions both in prose and verse, and partly from fables about animals and birds. And I have carefully considered the method, so that, should I write at great length, the contents might not be a hindrance instead of a help to the reader; but that both reader and hearer might have an opportunity and a desire to commit them to memory. And they who gain knowledge by means of this book will recall the things they have forgotten. The title of the book is one growing out of its theme, that is, *Clericalis Disciplina*; for it treats of the trained priest. But I have decided to exclude everything, as far as possible, from this treatise that is contrary to our belief or different from our faith. To this end may the omnipotent God on whom I rely assist me. Amen.

If to any man this litel Epistil renne bi his vtter eye and sumwhat in it he shal see that kyndely cause and nature to his more subtil eye,¹³ eft and eft I monysshē and do warne he ageyn to Rede.¹⁴ And last to hym and to al thoe that bien of parfite feith of holi-chirche I sette and put to correccioun. Forwhi and forsoth the Philosophre trowith nat any thyng to be parfite in mannes inuenciouns or fyndynges.

Therfor Enoch the philosophre, whiche in Arabik tung is named Edriche, saide to his sone: "The dreede of god be thy busynes and lucre and wynnyng shal come to the without any labour." Another Philosophre saith: "Who that dredith the lord al thynges dreeden hym. Forsoth who that dredith nat god is adred of al thyng." Another philosophre saith: "Who that loveth god dredith god. And who that lovith god is obedient vnto god."¹⁵

Socrates saide to his disciples: "See ye that ye bien nat seide obedient and inobedient in the same." The Enucheies¹⁶ saiden vnto hym: "What seistow to vs leve Ipocresy?" [He said]: "Forsoth it is Ipocresy for to make symulacioun of obedience to god bfore men and in hid thyng or secret to be in-

¹³ Lat. I, 2, l. 12, quod humana parum cavit natura viderit, subtiliori oculo.

¹⁴ Lat. iterum et iterum relegere moneo.

¹⁵ The English version omits the saying of the next speaker in the Latin, I, 2, l. 22. The Arab said in his verse: "It is incredible that thou art disobedient to God and yet pretendest to love him; if thou truly lovedst him thou wouldst obey him. For he that loves obeys."

¹⁶ or Emicheies; the translator did not know the Latin form Enuclea. Imper. sing. from enucleo—*are*, 'to explain,' and consequently gave a false interpretation of this sentence, Enuclea nobis quod dicis, meaning "explain or make clear to us what you are saying."

obedient."¹⁷ On of his disciples saide vnto hym: "Ther is non other people but of Ipocrisy, therfor to a mannes soule it is goode to beware."¹⁸ Socrates saith: "Ther is sum man whiche prevy and apert shevith hymself to be obedient vnto god, as that he be had holy among men and therfor of theym the more to be worshipped. Ther is another more subtile whiche levith and forsakith this Ipocresy, as that he may (f. 119) deserve to the more. Forsoth whan he fastith or any almesse doeth, and of hym be asked if he hath do, he aunswerith: 'God knowith or nat,' as in more reverence he be nat had; and it is saide non Ipocresy the whiche wil nat shewe his goode deede vnto men."¹⁹ Also I bileve and I trowe that thier bien but fewe whiche bien percyuers²⁰ in this maner of Ipocresy. See yee therfor that this ne deprive yow nat the Rewarde of yowre labour, that it fal ne hap nat, al thynges that ye don with cleen intencion ye seeke nat therof to have any glorie." Another Philosophre saith: "If thow bihold stidefastly into god, althynges shuln be prosperous to the wherever thow goest."

Balaam whiche in Arabik tung is cald Lucan saide to his sone: "Sone, ne is nat the ampt, otherwise cald pismir, wiser than thou, whiche gadrith in somer wherof he livith in wynter? Sone, ne is nat the Cok more waccheiful than thow, whiche in the morow wakith and thow sleepist? Sone, ne is nat the Cok strenger than thow, whiche iustifieth x wives and thow maist nat chastise oon? Sone, ne is nat the dog or the hound more nobil than thow, whiche of his benefactours is remembred and myndefull and thow of thy benefactours art foryeetful? Sone, ne be it seen to the a litel to have oon enemy, or to moche to have a thowsand friendis. Forsoth I say to the forwhi."

I. THE HALF FRIEND.

Whan Arabs-shude die [he] cald his sone vnto hym and saide: "Sey thow while I live how many friendes thow hast purchased." The sone aunswerd and saide: "I arbitre and trust that I have purchased mo than a hundred²¹ friendis." Than the fader saide: "The

¹⁷ Lat. I, 2, l. 25. Dicunt ei: Enuclea nobis quod dicis. Qui ait: Dimittite ypocrisim! Est enim ypocrisis, et cet.

¹⁸ Lat. Estne aliud genus ypocrisis, unde homini cavendum sit?

¹⁹ The Latin for this confusing sentence runs (I, 3, l. 2): Cum enim ieiunat vel elemosinam facit et ab eo quaeritur si fecerit, respondet: Deus scit! vel: non, ut in maiori reverentia habeatur et dicatur quia ypocrita non est qui hominibus factum suum nolit propalari.

²⁰ This reading is doubtful; Lat. Credo etiam paucos esse qui aliquo huius ypocrisis genere non participant.

²¹ Ms. C.

philosophre saith, 'Ne praise thow nat a friend til thow have proved hym.' I sith the tyme that I was born and have lived vnneth I have purchased half a friend. Thow therfor how hastow purchaced a hundred?²¹ Goo therfor to proeve hem all, as thow maist know if any be thy parfite friende." The sone said: "How counseilest thow that I shal proeve hem?" [The fader said]: "Sle a Calf and breke hym smal and put hym in a sack, so as the sack be infect with bloode withoutfurth, and than [go] to thi friende; sai thow: 'Dere friend, I have slayn a man; I pray the to burye hym secretely, so as noman shal have the suspect and so maistow save me'." The sone dide as his fader bad hym. Forsoth the first that he came to saide vnto hym: 'Bere the ded man with the vpon thi neck; so as thow hast don evil, so suffre thow satisfaccioun. Forsoth he shal nat entre in to myn house.' And when he had don so bi all, thei aunswerden the same. Therfor goyng ageyn to his fader [he] told hym what he (f. 119^b) had don. Than the fader saide: "It happith to the as the philosophre saide to his sone. 'Many friendis bien nombred in prosperitee but a fewe in necessite.' Go to myn half friend that I have and see what he saith to the." He com and as he had saide to other he saide to this. The whiche saide: "Entre in to myn house; this is no seker place to be shewed vnto neighborghs." Therfor he sent out of his house his wif and al his houshold and digged a pitte. Whan he saw al thynges redy and arraied al thynges as it ought to be, he departed doying thankynges, and therof rehersed vnto his fader what he had do. Forsoth the fader saide, "For suche oon the Philosophre saith: 'he is a veray triewe friend that helpith the whan al the world failith.'" Then saide the sone to the fader: "Hastow seen any man whiche hath wonne or purchaced hym suche an holl friend?" [The fader answerd]: "I have nat seen that, but I have herd [it]." Than the sone: "Tel me of hym if happely I myght purchace me suche a friend." Than quod the fader:

II. THE TWO PERFECT FRIENDS.

"Relacioun²² and told it is to me of ii busy merchauntis, the whiche that oon dwellid in Egipt and that other at Baldach, so only bi heryngsay thei knewen toguyder and bi messangiers bitwene senten for their necessaijs. It happened that²³ he of Baldach went of his neede and busynes into Egipt. The Egiptian heryng of his comyng mette hym and with grete joye toke hym in to his house and

²¹ Lat. I, 4, l. 11. At pater: Relatum est mihi.

²² 'That' repeated in Ms.

in al thynges served hym as is the maner of friendis bi viii daies, and shewid hym al his manoirs and other juels and necessities²⁴ to hym bilongyng whiche that he had in his house. At the viii daies end he of Baldach sekeled.²⁵ That gretely greved the lord of the hous, [whiche] cald vnto hym al the lechis of egipt, as they come to his house to see his friende. The lechis felt his puls eft and eft, also bihielid his vryne, and non infirmyte in hym thei knew. Therfor thei knewen [it] to be a passioun of love. This knowen; the lord of the house asked hym and bisought hym if ther were any womman in his hous that he loved. To that the sikeman saide: 'Shewe me al the wymmen of thyn house, if that haply amonges theym I may see hir that I love, and I shal tel the.' Whiche so herd, [he] shewid hym syngeressis and dauncers, of the whiche non of hem hym pleased. After that he shewed al his owne doughters; these also as tho other he refused and non Reward of hem tooke. The lord forsoth of the house had a nobil damysel and maiden whiche long²⁶ tyme he had norisshid and cherished to that entent with hymself to have married (f. 120). Whiche whan he had shewid hym, the sike man forsoth bihielid and saide: 'Of this and in this is my lif and deth.' Whiche whan the lord of the house herd [he] yaf to hym that noble faire maide vnto wif with al tho thynges whiche was with hyr to bi taken, vp suche condicioun that he shuld wed hir vnto wif. These thynges complete, [he] toke his wif and tho thynges whiche he tok with his wif, and his neede and busynes don repaired ageyn home in to his cuntrey.

Forsoth it happed after that this Egipcien in many maners lost al his goodis and was made a veray needy poore man [and] thought in hymself that he shuld go to his friend whiche he had at Baldach, as that he myght have mercy and pite vpon hym. Therfor naked and hungry in the tempest and silence of the nyght he cam to Baldach. Shame forsoth so withstoode hym that he went nat to the house of his friende lest haply unknowen at suche tyme he were forbode the house. Therfor he entrid in suche a temple where he benyghted. But in lase while than he wold ther abide²⁷ [he] mette ther two men of the Citee nyhs to the temple, of whiche that oon slowgh that other and p[r]ivily fled. Many of the Citizeyns for the

²⁴ Lat. (I, 4, l. 15) has simply: ostendit ei omnes manerias cantus quas habebat in domo sua.

²⁵ For this sentence the Lat. has *Finitis octo diebus infirmatus est.*

²⁶ Two or three letters crossed out in Ma.

²⁷ Translator has rendered Latin entirely wrong (I, 5, l. 9), *Sed cum ibi anxius multa secum diu voveret.*

noise and the cry ran and founde a man slayn and sought what he myght be that did the manslaughter, entred the temple hopyng to fynde the mansleer ther. Fyndyng ther the Egipcian and askyng of hym wherfor he had slayn the man, he heryng this of theym²⁸ saide: 'I am he that hath slayn the man; coveityng deth so to end his pover[te]'. And so was he taken and imprisoned, and on the morow brought bfore the juges and to the deth condempned and to the gibet and for to execucioun. Many forsoth ther were in that maner that met hym, of the whiche oon was his friende of whos cause²⁹ he cam [to] Baldach, and sharply beholdyng hym tooke hym to be his friend whiche he left in Egipt. Remembryng also of the goodenes whiche he had done to hym in Egipt, thynkyng forwhi that after his deth he myght nat yield nor acquite hym his goode deede, decreed in hymself for hym to die. And with a grete voice cryeng, 'What condempne yee an innocent? Whider wiln yee leede [hym] that no deth hath deserved? It is I that hath the man slayn.' Than thei laiden handis on hym and hym bond and hym led with that other toward the gybet for to have execucioun; and that other from the peyne of deth loosed and absoiled. The mansleer beyng in the same pres, biholdyng and seeyng this, than went with theym and saide in hymself³⁰; 'I have slayn the man (f. 120^b) and this is dampned. And here another innocent is deputed vnto turment, and I forsoth that hath don the nuyssaunce goeth free. What is the cause of this maner of justice I wote nat, but that only it be of the grete suffraunce and pacience of god. Forsoth I knowe that god is a veray just juge and no hid synne levith vnpunysshed. And lest that he hereafter take on me more harder vengeaunce, so of this maner of blame I shal nat deferre me to be gilty. And so from deth I shal assoile and loose [hym] to purge and clense the synne that I have don.' [He] obeied hymself³¹ therfor to the perel saieng: 'I, I whiche hath don the evil; thiese that ye han dampned³², leve yee hem vnhurt.' Forsoth the juges nat a litel woundryng thiese³³ other from deth delyvered they bond. And now nat a litel³⁴ of jugement doubtyng this with thiese other bfore delyvred ledden bfore the kyng and to hym al told and rehersed bi order and hym also com-

²⁸ Lat. (I, 5, l. 13) *audierunt ab ipso quia ego illum interfeci*.

²⁹ Ms. 'cau'; Lat. *causae causa*.

³⁰ These three words inserted on margin.

³¹ Lat. (I, 6, l. 1) *obiecit se ergo periculo dicens*.

³² 'that dampned' not in the Latin, which has *istum dimittite in noxium*.

³³ Lat. (I, 6, l. 2) *hunc*.

³⁴ The preceding three words supplied on margin.

pellid to doute. So bi a comune counsail they goyng³⁵ to hem, al the cryme and blame that to theym was put, he pardond on cove-naunt that they shulden shewe the causes of the cryme and blame to hem put. And they forsoth bi comune assent told hym the trowth of the thyng and of al wern assoiled³⁶. The denzyn³⁷ whiche had decreed to die for his friende led hym in to his house [and] of al the worship to hym bfore don saide: 'If thou wilt rest quietly and dwel with me, al thinges as it bihovith shuln be to vs comune. If forsoth thou wilt go ageyn³⁸, al thynges whiche that I have and be myn, evenly we shuln departe.' Than he softly and swetely thanked hym of his yudenes, submytted hym to that he hym offred in particioun received, and so went hom ageyn in to his cuntrey³⁹." Thiese thinges reherced and told, saide the sone to the fader: "Vnneth may any man fynde suche a friend."⁴⁰ Another philosopher said about untried friends: "Provide thyself once with enemies and a thousand times with friends, for thy friend may perhaps become an enemy sometime, and it will thus be easier to bear thy loss." Another philosopher also: "Avoid seeking counsel of any one until he has proved faithful to thee." Another philosopher again: "Give thy friend as much good advice as thou canst, even though he will not believe thee; for it is just that thou give him good advice, although the silly man may not follow it." Another: "Do not reveal thy counsel to every man; for it is better to seek counsel of him who retains it in his heart." Suche a phil[os]opher saith:⁴¹ "Thyn hid and secrete counsail as is in thi prison shit, forsoth opened and shewed, holdith the as bounden in his prisoun."⁴² Another: "Never associate with enemies when thou canst find other companions; for they will notice when thou doest evil, but fail to see the good things thou doest."

A certain poet said: "It is one of the serious misfortunes of this world that a free man must sometimes accept the help of his enemy. A man once inquired of a certain Arab: 'What is the worst misfortune that can happen to thee in this world?' The Arab: 'When necessity compels me to ask my enemy to give me what I wish'." Another: "Do not associate with a lecher for his society is a disgrace to thee." Another: "Do not exult in the praise of a lecher, for his praise is blame and his blame praise for thee." As a certain

³⁵ 'y' and 'go' are wanting because the left corner of the leaf has been torn off and pasted on again.

³⁶ Lat. (I, 6, l. 6) *Communi autem consensu omnibus absolutia*.

³⁷ Lat. *indigena*.

³⁸ Lat. (I, 6, l. 9) *Si vero repatriare volueris*.

³⁹ Lat. has for last sentence only *sicque repatriavit*.

⁴⁰ At this point the translator has omitted several sentences of the long dialogue (I, 6, l. 12-9) connecting exempla II and III.

⁴¹ Lat. I, 6, l. 22, *Alius*.

⁴² This sentence is followed by a further omission of the sayings of several philosophers from the Latin, see I, 6, l. 24 ff.

philosopher was passing along the highway he found another philosopher jesting with a lecher and said to him: "Birds of feather flock together." But that one replied: "I did not associate myself with him." To this the wayfarer: "Then why dost thou approve of him?" And he: "I do not, but in great need even an honest man must resort to a privy." Another philosopher: "Son, it is difficult to climb high houses but easy to descend from them." Another philosopher saide to his sone: "Bettir is the enymite of a wiseman than the friendship of a foole." Another saith: "Ne have thou nat for no grete thyng the frendship of a foole, forwhi it is nat to the abidyng." Another: "Bettir is the felawship of a simple man nurissed among sapient men than led and brought furth with feders of prudent men."⁴³ Another: "Swetter it is to a wise man sharp lif amonge wise men than swete lif among vnwise men." Another saith: "Ther bien two maners and spices of wisdam: that oon is na (f. 121) tural and that other artificial, of the whiche that oon may nat be without that other." [Another]: "Ne committe thou nat wisdam vnto foolis, forwhi vnto theym it is but an iniury; neither denye thou it nat vnto wise men, for that that is theirs thou takest away from hem."⁴⁴ Another: "The gifts of this world are of different kinds; for some are given riches, some wisdom. A certain man speaking to his son said: "Which wouldest thou prefer to have given thee, money or wisdom?" To this the son: "That which others are most in need of. There was once a certain wise poet who, though distinguished, was poor and in need, and who was always complaining about his poverty to his friends, about which also he composed verses expressing some such sentiment as this: 'Thou who rejoicest in wealth, show me why I am in want. Thou art not to blame, but tell me, who is to blame? For if my lot is hard, it surely was not made so by thee. But thou art mediator and judge between me and my destiny. Thou hast given me wisdom without wealth; tell me then, what can wisdom do without wealth? Take thou a part of my wisdom and give me some of thy wealth. Do not make me suffer such want that its hardships will bring disgrace upon me'. "⁴⁵ A certain philosopher said: "Everyone appears to another in one of three different relations: To whomsoever thou doest a kindness thou seemest to him to be greater than himself; from whomsoever thou desirest nothing thou seemest to be on an equality with him; but to whomsoever thou art indebted for any favor thou seemest to him less than himself." Another: "Wisdom is the light of the soul, but sense is the light of the body." Another:

⁴³ Lat. (I, 7, 1. 15) quam prudentis cum leccatoribus educati.

⁴⁴ After this speech the Middle English version again leaves out several sentences of the Latin.

⁴⁵ See I, 8, 1. 3.

"Wisdom revives even dead bodies by its light, as the rain by its moisture revives the dry earth."

The disciple saide to the Maister: "How shal I behave me to be accompted among sapient disciples?" The Maister: "Kepe scilence til it be necessary and neede to the to speke." Another Philosopher: "Only Silence is a wisdom and to speke⁴⁶ is a signe of foly." [Another]: "Ne hast thou nat to aunswer til an end be of the asker⁴⁷; nor any questioun made in felawship ne tempt thou nat to assoile while thou biholdist ther any wiser than thou; neither answer thou nat to any question made to anothe[r]; neither have thou appetite of lawde or praisyng for thyng to the ynknownen. [For the philosopher says]: 'Who of thyng to hym vnknownen appetith lawde or praisyng yeldith to prove hymself a lier'," Another: "Be thou restful, stil, and quiete vnto trowth, whether it be saide of the or object agenst the." [Another]: "Ne have thou no glory in thi wise wordis, for as the Philosopher witnessith, 'Who that glorieth in wise wordis provith hymself to be a foole.' Doyng thou al these thynges thou shalt be even nombred among disciples of sapience and of prudence."

[The philosopher says]: "Who can prudently inquire prudently vnderstandith the solucioun." [Another]: "Whosumever shameth to folowe the wisdom of other, more he shameth the same of hym to be inquired." Another: "Who that for a short tyme shameth to suffre loore, al tyme in shame and vnwisdom shal dwel and abide." [Another]: "Nat all tho whiche is saide sapient is sapient; but he that lierneth wisdom and can reteyne it." Another: "Who that in doctryne faileth, litel his kynred or gentilnes profiteth or availith. Nobilnes needith loore, sapience forsoth and experience." Another: "In whom the nobilnes of elders failith or endith or covenantably reservith."⁴⁸ Another: "Nobility that proceeds from my own exertions is more precious to me than that which comes to me from my father."

III. THE KING AND THE POETS.⁴⁹

Arabs: "Suche a versifour prudent and curteys but vnnoble of byrth to a kyng offred his vers; whos prudence noted the kyng hym with worship tooke. Therfor to this other versifiers envieden to

⁴⁶ Lat. (I, 8, l. 10) loquacitas est, et cet.

⁴⁷ Lat. finis interrogationis.

⁴⁸ Lat. (I, 8, l. 27) Alius: In quo sua desinit nobilitas, avorum nobilitatem haut congrue reservat. The speech of the next philosopher was omitted by the translator.

⁴⁹ I, 9, l. 1.

overcome his gentilnes and kynred, gadreden toguyder and saiden vnto the kyng: "Sir kyng, whi this so vile of birth magnifieth [thow] somoche?" To this the kyng: "Whom yee han trowed to blame, the more yee han praised." He forsoth whiche was blamed to this he adjoyned: "Rosès spryngen on thornes nat for that⁵⁰ they bien nat (f. 121^b) blasfemed." Forsoth the kyng left hym with more worshipful giftes.

It happened as that a versifiour of noble birth forsoth but litel lierned to suche a kyng offred his vers. Whiche the kyng tooke, as gretely evil made, dispised hem, and nought yave hym. Therfor the versifiour saide to the kyng: "If nat only for the vers, for myn nobilnes sumwhat yield thow me." Therfor the kyng: "Who is thy fader?" Than he shewed hym. Than quod the kyng: "Seede in the hath he gendred."⁵¹ To whom the versifiour: "Often of whete spryngith Rye." To this the kyng saide: "Thow previst thisilf lasse than thi fader." And so [he] left hym vnrewarded.

Another versifiour also cam to the kyng of an vnnoble fader but a gentil Moder. What compownd and vncompownd he offred hym vers whos moder had a shyneng brother. Forsoth nat forthan toke [he] hym worshipfully, [but], asked of hym whos sone he was.⁵² Than he pretendid hym his vncl; wherof the kyng turned hymself in to moche laughter. Than saide his housold meyne: "Wherof procedith this laughter?" Quod the kyng: "Suche a fable in suche a booke I Red whiche I behold here with myn eyen." Quod thei: "What is that?" Quod the kyng.

IV. THE MULE AND THE FOX.⁵³

"A Mule newly born fonde foxes in lesewes and woundryng saide vnto hym: 'Who artow?' The Mule saide hym to be formed.⁵⁴ To whom the foxes: 'Hastow neither fader ne moder?' [The mule replied]: 'A gentil hors is myn vncl.' So as [the mule] therfor knowlached nat the Asse his fader, insomoche that he was a slow beest and dul, so this shameth to knowlache his fader for his dulnes nat vnknownen." The kyng only turned hym to the versi-

⁵⁰ Ms. 'than.'

⁵¹ Lat. Semen in te degeneravit (I, 9, l. 10).

⁵² For the passage 'What compownd sone he was' the Lat. has (I, 9, l. 13) *Incompositus quidem incompositos obtulit versus. Cuius mater fratrem habebat et facetia splendidum. Rex autem nequaquam eum honorifice suscepit. Quaesivit tamen ab eo cuius filius erat.*

⁵³ I, 9, l. 18.

⁵⁴ These words only partially translate the Latin, *mulus dicit se Dei creaturam esse.*

four and saide: "I wil that thow shewe me thi fader." And he shewed [hym]. Therfor the kyng knew that his fader was vnlierned and saide to his seruautis: "Departte this from our thynges, forwhy he hath goten ne deservid hem."⁸⁵

The Arab said to his father: "It astonishes me to read that in past ages nobles, wits and wise men were honored, but only lechers were revered." To this the father: "Son, be not astonished that priests honor priests, nobles nobles, wits wits, and that lechers are venerated by lechers." The son: "And I read another thing: that priests were not honored for their wisdom; whence lechers were produced and came to great honor." Then the father said to him: "That indeed resulted from the indolence of the time." To this the son: "Explain to me, dearest father, the true meaning of nobility." And the father: "As Aristotle says in his letter to King Alexander,"⁸⁶ in reply to the question as to what kind of a man he should select for his counsellor: 'Choose a man,' he said, 'who has been educated in the seven liberal arts, disciplined in the seven cardinal virtues, and polished by means of the seven accomplishments, and I believe he will represent perfect nobility.' And the son: "Such nobility does not exist today, for all the nobility that I know about proceeds from gold and silver. As the poet says: 'Riches exalt people who are without nobility and poverty degrades an ancient house that was once in high esteem because of its nobility.' A certain poet made these verses about the evils of the world which are destroying its nobles. 'Tell them,' he said, 'who despise us because of the misfortunes which befall us, that this world shows its opposition to no one but the noble. Dost thou not see how the ocean carries dung and chaff away, but how precious stones go to the bottom? And dost thou not see that the stars in the heavens are without number, and yet none of them but the sun and moon are subject to eclipses?'" And the father: "This happens on account of the indolence of the world, since men decide that riches are the sole reason for boasting." One of the disciples questioning the master said: "Since there are seven arts, seven accomplishments, and seven virtues, I wish you would tell me what they are." The master: "All right; these are the seven arts: Logic, arithmetic, geometry, physics, music, astronomy. Opinions vary greatly as to what the seventh is: philosophers who believe in prognostications assert that necromancy is the seventh. Others who do not believe in predictions think philosophy is the seventh, which excels the study of nature and the elements of the earth. Some who do not know philosophy insist that it is grammar.

Then, the accomplishments are: Riding, swimming, archery, boxing, the chase, chess, writing verse. The virtues (*industriæ*) are:

⁸⁵ After this sentence the M. E. version has omitted a long passage of the philosophical discussions of the original (I, 9, l. 26). The first half of the passage discusses "true nobility"; the second half, "the seven arts, virtues, and crafts."

⁸⁶ A Middle English version of this letter is preserved in the same Ms. (ff. 138-148) with the *Disciplina Clericalis*.

not to be a glutton, a drunkard, a sybarite, not to be given to violence, to lying, covetous, and of evil life." The disciple: "At the present time I do not believe there is any man of this kind."

After this long omission the Middle English version resumes the narrative.

Suche a Philosophre correctid his sone sayeng: "Beware of lesynges, for it is swetter than flessch of briddis." Quod another: "How light it is to bryng furth a lesyng; whi is trowth seen so hard and hevy?" [Another philosopher]: "If thow dredist trewth wherof forthynkith he, bettir it is ever to say so."⁵⁷ [Another]: "Shame it is to deny lest it brynge to the necessite of lesyng; forsoth more honest it is to denye a thyng than⁵⁸ to yeve long terme." Another: "To blame of blames to adde to the preyer is this tyme with warenes to deny."⁵⁹ Another philosopher: "If lesyng savith any, moche more with trowth he shalbe saved." Suche on accused was led and brought before the kyng, the juge denyeng the cryme to hym put and of the same convicte. To whom the kyng: "In duple wise thow shalt be punysshed (f. 122), oones for the cryme don, the secunde for the deede denied." Another suche in likewise accused that he had don, nat denied. Thei that stooden aboute saiden to the kyng, he to take jugement of the deede.⁶⁰ "Nat so," quod the kyng, "forwhi the philosopher saith: 'To hym that confessith the synne, reason it is to Reles the jugement.' So he departed from the kyng free."

Socrates saith: "So as a manlyer⁶¹ is nat convenient in the felawship of a prince, so is he excluded from the kyngdom of hevenes". Forwhi the philosopher saide to his sone: "Say thow hym a lier whiche to overcom evil saith evil; forwhi as fier hurtith nat fier, so evil vnto evil ne fallith nat. Therfor as water quenchith fier, so goode thynges distroieth every evil." [Another]: "Ne'yield thow nat evil, ne be thow nat like vnto evil. So yield thow goode as that thow be the better vnto evil."⁶²

The Arabik saide to his sone: "If thov see oon bifore greved of evil werkis, ne entremete; who loosith the⁶³ doute, vpon hym shal the thretenynges be."

⁵⁷ Lat. (I, 11, l. 6.) Si dicere metuas unde paeniteas, melius est dicere: non! quam sic!

⁵⁸ Ms. 'that.'

⁵⁹ Lat. (I, 11, l. 9.) Terminum termino addere roganti est hoc tempore calliditas negandi.

⁶⁰ Lat. (I, 11, l. 13) Dixeruntque qui regi astiterunt: Decrimine confessio iudicium sumet.

⁶¹ Lat. homo mendax.

⁶² The M. E. omits the immediately following sentence, Alius: Ne confidas in malo si periculum evaseris, ut aliud infeas, quia illud non faciet u simile pertranseas (see I, 11, l. 22).

⁶³ Lat. quia qui pendulum solverit.

V. THE UNGRATEFUL SERPENT.⁶⁴

"Suche oon passyng bi the woode fonde a serpent of shepardis strayned and to stokkes bounden, whom in maner loosed cured to chaufe.⁶⁵ The serpent chauffed aboute the faverer bigan to gnawe and bite and somoche the bond hard he constreyned. Than the man saide: 'What doestow? Whi yieldistow evil for goode?' The serpent saide: 'I do my nature and kynde.' Quod he: 'And I have don wele to the, and that evil doestow only to me?' So they strivyng wern cald to the jugement of the fox. To whom whan he was com [and] was shewed al the matier bi order, than the fox saide: "This cause can I nat deme bi heryng, but as it was at the first bitwixt yow I may see it at eye.' Than was the serpent bounde ageyn as she was afore. 'Now,' quod the fox, 'thow serpent, if thow maist eschape, departe.' Whiche to the man: 'To loose the serpent nil thow nat labour.' Whether hastow nat Red, 'who that loosith the dowte, vpon hym shalbe the falle'."⁶⁶

The Arabik saide to his sone: "If thow be⁶⁷ any tyme and maist lightly be delyvered, abide nat to long; for while thow abidest haply ther may falle a more grevous blame, as fil to the gibbous or courbed of the versifiour." "And how," quod the sone? [The fader]:

VI. THE POET TURNED PORTER.⁶⁸

"Suche a versifiour [was] makyng vers to a kyng, and the kyng praised his wisdam [and] bad hym aske a yift for his deede. The whiche asked suche a thyng as for to be a porter at oon of the yates of the Citee bi the space of a Moneth, and to have of every courbed man a peny⁶⁹ and of every ooneyed a peny, of every scald a peny, of every lepre a peny, of every Roughhered a peny (f. 122^b). Whiche that the Kyng graunted and strenghted with his seale; whiche in his mynisterie taken and in his service and office sat at the yaate. In a day suche a courbed and wele hooded [man] beryng a staf in his hand wold han entred. To whom the versifiour mette askyng hym a peny, whiche he denyed. And with strength the versifiour pullid of his hooode and tooke with oon eye, and asked of two pens, where that first he myght have escaped with oo peny;

⁶⁴ I, 12, l. 1.

⁶⁵ Lat. *Quem mox solutum calefacere curavit.*

⁶⁶ Lat. *ruina erit.*

⁶⁷ Lat. *gravatus fueris.*

⁶⁸ I, 12, l. 13.

⁶⁹ M. E. version omits *et a scabioso denarium.*

but [he] withhield it and nat havyng any help wold have fled. But he hield hym bi the hooide and pullid of his Cappe, and than his hede appiered scalled, for the whiche than he asked thre pens. Than this courbed man seeyng hymself havyng non help nor myght nat flee bigan to Resiste and withstond with naked armes, in whiche [he] apperid [a] lepre; for the whiche than he asked the fourth peny. To whom the defendaunt tooke away his capp and cast it to the grounde, and [he] appered than Roughered, for the whiche than he toke of hym five pens. 'So it happed for that he wold [nat] paie oo peny, vnwares paid fyve pens.⁷⁰' A certain philosopher said to his son: "Son, refrain from passing through the house of wicked people, for passing results in stopping, and stopping leads to sitting and sitting ends in a deed. It is related, by way of illustration, that two priests went forth from the city one evening for a walk, and they came to a house where some drinkers had met together.

*A Priest in the House of Drinkers*⁷¹

Petrus Alphonsus tellis how on a tyme two clerkis went samen before a place ther thar was many drynkers, and thai callid thaim in. And the tone of thaim went into thaim and the toder wold nott, bod went on hys wais; and it was fer within nyght. So the wachis of the town fande all thies drynkers syttand samen, and the clerk with thaim, and because a man of the town was robbid that nyght, thai tuke thaim all and the clerk with thaim, and hanged thaim. And the clerke at bade with thaim, or he was hanged, sayd on this maner of wyse; "Quisquis inique gentis consorcio fruitur, procul dubio mortis immerite penas lucratur. What-somevur he be at vsis ill company, na dowte of he sall hafe ane ill dead."⁷²

The Latin version of this tale (No. vii, see I, 12, l. 2) is as follows: Dictum enim est duos clericos de ciuitate quadam vespere ut exspatiarentur exisse. Venerunt ergo in locum ubi potatores convenerant. Dixit alter socio suo: Divertamus alia via, quia philosophus dicit: Non est transeundum per sedem gentis iniquae. Respondit socius: Transitus non novebit, si aliud non affuerit. Et transeuntes andierunt in domo catilenam. Substitit alter retentus

⁷⁰ At this point two short exempla are omitted from our English version; these occur in the Latin (I, 13) as Nos. VII and VIII and have the titles, *About a Priest entering the House of Drinkers* (*Exemplum de Clerico domum potatorum intrante*) and *The Voice of the Owl* (*Exemplum de voce bubonis*). The English also omits the brief discussion which links VI and VII together in the Latin (I, 12, l. 28).

⁷¹ This exemplum in an abbreviated form is found in the Middle English *Alphabet of Tales* (Ed. Banks, Pt. II, No. 721, p. 483).

⁷² I have preserved the spelling and punctuation of the EETS edition, only substituting *th* for the early English *thorn* and *and* for *&*.

dulcedine cantus. Monuit socius ire: noluit. Recedente socio remansit solus illectusque cantu domum intravit. Undique vocatus sedit sedensque cum aliis potavit. Et ecce preco exploratorem civitatis fugientem sequens post illum domum protantium intravit. Invento exploratore in illa domo ipse et omnes capti sunt. Hic, inquit, hospitium huius exploratoris fuit: hinc exiit, huc rediit; omnes conscii et socii huius fuistis. Ducti sunt omnes ad patibulum, et clericus inter illos magna voce praedicabat omnibus: Quisquis iniquae gentis consortio fruitur, procul dubio mortis immeritae poenas lucratur.

The Voice of the Owl.⁷³

"It is reported of two disciples that in going out of a certain city they came to a place where the voice of a woman was heard very distinctly, and the words of the song were well written and the music of the song was so arranged that it sounded beautifully and delightfully. One of them stopped on account of the beauty of the song, but his companion said to him: 'Let's turn aside'. And they did it; for one is so far deceived by the song of a bird that he may be led to death. Then the one said: 'This voice is sweeter than that which my master and I heard long ago'. 'What kind of voice was that', asked the other, 'and how did you hear it?' 'It happened,' the companion said, 'that we had gone out of the city and we heard a very harsh voice in an unattractive song, and the words sounded discordantly; the one who sang repeated the words frequently and lingered over the unmelodious song as if it was delightful.' Then the master said to me: 'If it is true as men say, that the voice of the owl portends the death of some one, then that is without doubt the voice of an owl fortelling death.' To this I said: 'I wonder, if the song is so dreadful, why this man alone is delighted with it?' And he answered me: 'Dost not thou remember the philosopher who says: "Man takes delight in three things even though they may not be good: in his own voice, his own song, and his own son"? After he told this about himself and his master they both went away."

A certain philosopher said to his son: "Follow a scorpion, a lion, and a dragon, but do not follow a wicked woman." Another philosopher said: "Pray God that he keep thee from the snares of vile women, and be thyself on guard lest thou be deceived. For it is said about a certain philosopher that in passing by the place where a fowler had stretched a net for snaring birds, he saw a base woman in wanton sport with the fowler and said to him: 'While thou art trying to snare birds, be careful that thou art not caught in the filth of the lime thou preparedst for he birds'."⁷⁴

⁷³ I, 13, l. 12 ff.

⁷⁴ Here the English version takes up the thread of the narrative again, reproducing a lengthy paragraph of the Latin (I, 14, ll. 1-12) as sort of connecting links between tales VI, VII, VIII and IX of the original.

Suche a disciple saide to his Maister: "I have Rad in wordis of Philosophres whiche comaunden a man to kepe hym from the forward wit and engyne of wymmen. And [Salomon] only in the same proverbes amonestith and warneth. If thou therfor any thing above the wiles of hem memoratief holdist I wold with tellyng thou woldist teche and lierne me, outhur of fables outhur of proverbis." [The Maister]: "That cause shal I do to the gladly. But I am ashamed lest any simple soule redyng oure ditees whiche of the craftis of wymmen to the correccioun of theym and thyn and to instruccion and liernyng of other seen. That is for to say how, nat knowyng ne wityng their husbondis, [they] callen and clepen their loves and with hem abiden, clippyng and kysyng; and so of theym and in theym accomplisshen and fulfillen their lascivic and foul lustis, trowyng the wikkidnes and cursidnes to Rebounde in vs."⁷⁵ The disciple than saide: "Maister, ne dreede nat that forwhi Salomon in the booke of proverbis and many sapient men whiche to correcte suche evil and shrewd maners of theym wrote suche thynges therof they deserved no blame, but laude and praisyng. And thou in like wise writyng theym to our profite⁷⁶ shalt deserve no blame but a corowne of glorie; and of this praier or tellyng shewe thou." Than the Maister:

VII.⁷⁷ THE VINE-DRESSER DECEIVED BY HIS WIFE.

"Suche a man went to cut his vyne. That his wif seeyng than⁷⁸ vndirstode hym to dwelle and tarie long aboute it and sent a mes-sangier to cal (f. 123) hir love and lemman, and arraied a feeste. Forsoth it happened and fil so that the lord of the vyne smyten with a braunche in the eye, yeede ageyn anon vnto his house nothyng seeyng with the hurt eye. Comyng to the gate of his [house he] knocked at the doore. That the wif withynfurth [heryng] gretly troubled cald hir love and hid hym, and after that opened the doore vnto hir husbonde. Whiche entryng and gretly sorrowyng for his hurt eye bad array his chamber and make his bedde, as that he myght rest hym. The wif dred lest he entryng the chamber shuld see hir love ther hid, and saide: 'What hastest thou to bedde? First tel me what is the befall.' And he told hir what was hym befall. 'O diere sir,' quod she, 'soeffre me that I conferme with

⁷⁵ This is a crude translation of the original of I, 14, ll. 4-8.

⁷⁶ Lat. (I, 14, l. 11) *de illis scribens ad nostram utilitatem....sed coronam promereberis.*

⁷⁷ This is No. IV in the Latin, I, 14, l. 13.

⁷⁸ Ms. 'that'.

craft of medycyne and charme that it come nat to the hool eye as is comen to the hurt eye, forwhi thi hurt and damage is comune to vs both,' setting hir mowth to the hol eye til hir love from the place wher he was hid went his wey and departed, vnwityng the husbond. Than quod she: 'Arise now, diere husbond, for I am sure it shall nat come to the holl eye that is come to the hurt. Now maistow, if it please the to go to thy bedde.' And so was the husbond scorned and bijaped of his wif."⁷⁹

Then the disciple said to his master: "Thou hast advised me well, and what thou hast told me about their guile and wiles I commend to the thirsty and yearning soul; and I would not exchange what I have learned about it for the riches of the Arabs. But if thou pleasest to proceed, instruct me how we may succeed in converting it into action for the future direction of the public." "I will do it," said the master.

VIII⁸⁰ THE HUSBAND DECEIVED BY MEANS OF A SHEET.

"It is saide that suche oon went on pilgremage and committed his wif vnto his stepmoder.⁸¹ Whiche wif loved another and shewed it vnto hir moder, whiche even moeved for hir doughter yaf a favour to the lover and cald hym and bigan to talke⁸² apart with hym and with the doughter to feede and to feeste. And in their feestyng came the husbond to the dore and knocked. And the wif arisyng hid the lover and after that opened the doore, whiche after he was entred [he] bad array his bedde for he wold rest hym, insomoche that he was wery. The wif was troubled and in doubte what she shuld do. The Moder seeyng that saide vnto the doughter: 'Ne haastow nat to arraie his bedde til we han shewed to thy husbond the lynnenn that we han made.' And thold wif drewe out the lynnenn as moche as she mgyht to a corner and toke hir doughter another end to another corner. Whiche lynnenn [was] so stretched and lift vp in height. And so was the husbond mocked and bijaped til the lovier that was hid went out at the doore. Than saide thold wif vnto hir doughter: 'Stretche this lynnenn vpon thi husbondes bedde, forwhi myn handis and thyn han made (f. 123^b) it and woven it.' To whom the husbond saide: 'And thow, lady or dame, canstow array suche lynnenn?' 'O sone, moche have I made and

⁷⁹ There is nothing in the Latin (cf. I, 14, l. 26) corresponding to this sentence. And the following discussion which connects exempla IX and X in the Latin version is omitted from the English.

⁸⁰ No. X in the original, I, 15, l. 1.

⁸¹ Ms. 'vnto his wif vnto his stepmoder' (Lat. *socrui*, 'mother-in-law.')

⁸² Ms. 'take.'

arraied in this maner.' In this maner is the husbond disceived of his wif."⁸³

To this the disciple: "What I have heard is wonderful; but I wish thou wouldest give me more advice, for the more I consider the nature of those women the more I am concerned about my own protection." The master replied: "To this end I will tell you a third tale and then our exempla will suffice for thy instruction." The disciple: "If it please thee."

IX.⁸⁴ THE MOTHER-IN-LAW WITH THE DRAWN SWORD.

It is also had in relacioun that suche a pilgrym commytted his wif to his stepmoder to kepe. The wif secretly loved a yong man; that to hir moder redily she told and shewed. She forsoth consentyng to the lover arraied a feeste and cald hym therto; whiche so feestyng the husbond cam and knocked at the gate. The wif therfor aros and lete the husbond [enter]. But the Moder with the doughters love remayneng, forwhy ther was no place wher to huyde hym, doubted what she and he shuld do. But while the daughter opened the dore vnto hir husbond thold wif tooke a naked swerd and yaf to the lover [and] bad hym to stonde streight bfore thentre of hir doughters husbond with the same swerd drawn. 'And if the husbond saye ought vnto the, aunswer nat ageyn.' And he dide as he was boden. The dore opened [and] the husbond seeyng hym standyng so askid hym what he was; the whiche aunswerd nat. Than if he werē abasshed at the first sight, in that he yaf non aunswer, he drad moche more. Than thold wif aunswerd: 'Dere sone, be stille lest any man here the.' To that he wondryng saide: 'What is that, faire dame?' Than thold wif: 'Thre yong men pursued this man hider and we than opened the dore [and] suffred hym to entre thus with his swerd til thei wern gon that wold have slayne hym. Whiche now dredith the to be oon of theym, is astonyed and aunswerith nat.' Than the husbond saide: 'Wele mote ye fare that in this maner han delyvered hym from deth.' And so entryng [he] cald his wifes love and made hym to sitte with hym. And so with swete spechis sported hem and at nyght leete hym go."⁸⁵

⁸³ For this sentence see Latin I, 15, l. 12 f.

⁸⁴ No. XI in the original, I, 15, l. 16 ff.

⁸⁵ The Worcester version omits the tale which follows this immediately in the Latin, (No. XXII) *The King and his Jester or Storyteller* (cf. I, 16, l. 9); but since the tale in a slightly different version was printed by Caxton in 1483 (see Introduction p. 9), I supply this lacuna by reprinting it from Caxton's first edition. There it is No. 8, 'The eyght fable is of the discypyle and of the sheep.'

The King and His Jester

A discyple was somtyme whiche toke his playsyre to reherce and telle many fables, the whiche prayd to his mayster that he wold reherce vnto hym a long fable. To whome the mayster ansuerd: "Kepe and beware wel that hit happe not to vs as it happed to a kynge and to his fabulatour." And the discyple ansuerd: "My mayster, I pray the to telle to me how it befelle." And thenne the mayster sayd to his discyple:⁸⁶ "Somtyme was a kynge whiche hadde a fabulatour, the whiche reherced to hym at euery tyme that he wold sleep fyue fables for to reioysshe the kynge and for to make hym falle in to a slepe. It bifelle thenne on a daye that the kynge was moche sorowful and so heuy that he coude in no wyse falle a slepe. And after that the sayd fabulator had told and reherced (f. 128^b) his fyue fables the kynge desyred to here more. And thenne the sayd fabulatour recyted vnto hym thre fables wel shorte. And the kynge thenne sayd to hym: 'I wold fayne here one wel longe, and thenne shalle I leue wel the slepe.' The fabulatour thenne reherced vnto hym suche a fable: Of a ryche man whiche wente to the market or feyre for to bye sheep; the whiche man bought a thowsand sheep. And as he was retornynge fro the feyre, he cam vnto a ryuer, and bycause of the grete wawes⁸⁷ of the water he coude nat passe ouer the brydge. Neuertheles he went soo longe to and fro on the ryuage of the sayd ryuer, that at the last he fonde a narowe way⁸⁸ vpon the whiche myght passe scant ynough thre sheep atones. And thus he passed and had them ouer one after another. And hyderto reherced of this fable⁸⁹ the fabulatour felle on slepe. And anon after the kynge awoke the fabulatour and sayd to hym in this manere: 'I pray the that thow wylt make an ende of thy fable.' And the fabulatour ansuerd to hym in this manere: 'Syre, this ryuer is ryght grete and the ship is lytyll,⁹⁰ wherfore late the marzhaunt doo passe ouer his sheep; and after I shalle make an ende of my fable.' And thenne was the kynge wel appeased and pacyfyed.

And therefore be thow (f. 129) content of that I have reherced vnto the. For there is folke so⁹¹ superstycious or capaxe that they may not be contented with fewe wordes."⁹²

The discyple said: "It is recorded in ancient proverbs that he who grieues because of his possessions does not suffer as severely as he who is afflicted with pains of his body. And the story teller did not love his king as much as thow lovest me, for he only wished to divert the king's mind a little with stories, which was not thy inten-

⁸⁶ Jacobs reads 'descyple.'

⁸⁷ Jacobs reads 'wauies.'

⁸⁸ Lat. (I, 16, l. 19) *exiguam naviculam*.

⁸⁹ Lat. *His dictis fabulator obdormiuit*.

⁹⁰ Jacobs 'lytyl'.

⁹¹ Jacobs omits 'so.'

⁹² There is no punctuation in Caxton's text except vertical lines at the ends of sentences. I have also normalized the capitalization, otherwise no changes are made. Caxton's last two sentences—which are in reality a translation of Steinhöwel—are quite different from the Latin (cf. I, 16, l. 26): *Quodsi amplius me praedictis etiam subtexere alia compuleris, iam dicti praesidio exempli me deliberare conabor*. And there is nothing in Caxton which corresponds to the latter part of the connecting dialogue between Nos. XII and XIII of the Latin version.

tion with me at all. I pray thee, therefore, instruct me further, if thou wilt, concerning the resourcefulness of women." The master replied:

X.⁹³ THE PROCURESS AND HER WEEPING BITCH.

"It is saide that suche oon had a wif of a noble kynred, inly faire, beautevous, and chast. So haply it fil that [he] with busynes of Reason wold go to Rome. But he wold nat make non other depute keper of his wif but hirsilf, he trusted so moche in hir chast maners and of worshipful proef. Forsoth this man redy went furth with felawship. The wif forsoth lived chastly and in al thynges prudently doying remainyd. So it fil that of necessite compulsd out of hir owne house [she] went out to hir neyghburgh in felawship. That neede and busynes don [she] went hir hom to hir owne house. That suche a yong man bihielde and with brennyng love bigan to love hir and many messangiers (f. 124) sent vnto hir coveityng of hir whom he so brennyngly loved; Eft⁹⁴ to whom with contemptis [she] hym vttirly dispised. The yongman whan he felt hymself so dispised, was made so moche sorowyng and over moche kynde of sikeness hevied and greved. Oftentymes here and ther wher he sigh that faire womman goyng out desiryng with hir to meete and felawship, but in no wise it myght availe. To whom for sorowe weeping he mette with an old wif clenly clad in Religious habite askyng of hym what was the cause that compelled hym so to sorowe. But the yongman so avexed and troubled in his conscience wold nat discovere. To whom thold wif saide: 'How moche that a sike man hidith and takith away the knowlache of his infirmyte from his leche, so moche more grevous and sharp shal his grevaunce and sikeness be.' Whiche so heryng [he] told hir bi order and shewid hir al his secrete counsail of this that hym bifil. To whom thold wif: 'Of this whiche now thou hast saide with goddis help I shal fynde a Remedie.' And so left hym and went hir hom to hir house. And a litel whelp that she had at hom [she] made it to fast two daies without mete; and the thrid day to the fastyng hound yaf brede jnowogh with an oynoun⁹⁵ froted. Whiche whan the hound had tasted and eten for the bitternes the eyen bigan to teare. After this that old wif went hir to the house of the shamefast womman whom the yongman loved so moche; whiche worshipfully

⁹³ No. XIII in the original, I, 17, l. 3.

⁹⁴ The Ms. reading appears to be 'Of' or 'Ef to:' the Lat. (I, 17, l. 10) has this simple sentence: *Quibus contemptis eum penitus sprexit.*

⁹⁵ Lat. *sinapi* i. e. 'mustard'.

for the gretnes of hir Religioun with a demure spirite toke hir in. To this forsoth folowed hir whelp. Whan this goode womman saw that litel hound so weepyng [she] askid what it had and ailed and wherfor it so the eyen tered and wept. To this thold wif answerd: 'Diere friende, ne aske nat what is the cause forwhi it is so grete a sorow that I may nat tel it.' Forsoth the womman somoche the [more] stired hir to telle. Than thold wif or old Vek saide: 'This litel hounde the whiche thow biholdist was my doughter, a chast maiden and a faire and right beautevous, whom suche a yongman loved; but she was so chast that in althyng vtirly his love she dispised.'⁶⁶ Wherof he somoche sorowyng was streyned in to a grete sikenes; for the whiche blame wrecchidly my doughter here is chaunged in to an hounde.' And this saide, for grete sorowe she brake out in teeris wepyng, that old wif. To that the goode womman: 'What! therfor diere dame, I feele mysilf that I am made in like synne. Me forsoth a yongman lovith, but of my chastite his love I have vtirly dispised, and in like maner to hym it fallith.' To whom that old wif: 'Ewer I praise the, my diere friende, but rather (f. 124^b) than this wrecchidnes of eschaunge in to an hounde shuld fal to the, do that he askith and desirith. If forsoth I had knowen the love bytwene the forsaide yongman and my doughter, mi doughter shuld never have be[n] chaunged.' To whom the chast womman saide: 'I beseche the as in this thyng that thow tel me holsum and profitable counsail that my forme and shap be nat deprived and made like an hound.' To whom thold wif: 'For the love of god'⁶⁷ right gladly, and forwhi of the, my doughter, I am merciful and have on the compassioun; and that forsaide yongman I shal seeke if he may be in any place founde and bryng hym vnto the.' To whom the womman dide thankynges. And so thold wif with hir crafty spechis and wordis yaf hir feith; and the yongman whom she promysed brought and so felawshipped hem togyder."

"A," quod the disciple to the Maister, "Never herd I of suche a mervaille, whiche as I trowe was don bi craft of the devil." Quod the Maister: "Ne doubte the nat it was so." Than quod the disciple: "I hope if any suche man were so sapient, as alwey he drad hym how he myght be disceived bi the engyne and craft of womman haply he myght kepe hym from hir engyne and wiles." Quod the Maister: "I have herde of suche a man whiche that moche laboured,

⁶⁶ Lat. ut eum omnino sperneret et eius amorem respueret. See I, 17, l. 27.

⁶⁷ Lat. Pro Dei amore et animae remedio meae.

as in kepyng of his wif, but nothyng it profited hym." The disciple saide: "Goode Maister, tel me what he dide that I may knowe if I wed that womman how I may kepe hir." [The maister]:

XI.⁹⁸ THE JEALOUS HUSBAND AND THE STONE CAST INTO
THE WELL

"Svche a yong man ther was whiche al his entent and al his wit and yit moreover al his body⁹⁹ set and put to knowe al the maner and craft of wymmen, and this don nold no wif wedde.¹⁰⁰ But first [he] went to seeke counsail and cam to a man most sapient of that Regioun and asked and sought how he myght kepe his wif if he wold any wedde. The sapient man forsoth heryng this yave hym counsail that he shuld make an house with high wallis of stone and put his wif withyn and yeve hir mete inowgh to ete and no superfluite of clothyng; so that in that house be but oo dore and oo wyndowe bi whiche she may see, and of suche height and of suche composicioun and makyng bi whiche noman may entre ne go out. The yongman forsoth heryng this counsail of the sapient man dide as he bad hym. Forsoth erly in the morow whan the yongman went out, [he] shit the doore of the house fast, and in like wise whan he entred; and whan he slept hid the keyes vnder his hede and thus dide long tyme. Suche (f. 125) a day while this yongman went out his wif as she was wont ascended vp to the wyndow¹⁰¹ and while she stode ther she sawe another faire yongman of body and of face, with whiche sight anon she was kyndeled in the love of hym. Forsoth the womman so kyndeled in the love of that yongman and as it is above saide in suche warde and straite kepyng bigan to thynk how and bi what art or craft she myght speke with that yongman. And she ful of engyne and guyle craftily bithought hir to stele the keyes of hir lord hir husbond while that he slept, and so she dide. Forsoth hir lord hir husbond was in custum every nyght to be drunk of wyne; now the more suerly myght she go out to hir love and fulfil hir volunte and lust. The lord forsoth, of that Philosophres techyng and warnyng withouten guyle of any act of womman, bigan to thynke what his wif often and daily wold with drynkyng make hym drunke. Suche

⁹⁸ XIV in the original (I, 18, l. 18).

⁹⁹ Lat. (I, 18, l. 18) totam intentionem suam et totum sensum suum et adhuc totum tempus suum.

¹⁰⁰ This last sentence conveys the opposite meaning to that of the Latin, I, 18, l. 19, et hoc facto voluit ducere uxorem.

¹⁰¹ Eng. version omits et euntes et regredientes intente aspexit. I, 19, l. 2.

a tyme was that she trowed hir husband drunke;¹⁰² of whiche the womman [ignorant]¹⁰³ aros out of hir bedde in the nyght and went to the doore of the house and opened and went hir out to hir love. Hir husbond in the scilence and stilnes of the nyght softly arisyng cam to the doore and founde it open and shit it and made it fast and went vp to the wyndowe and stooode ther in his shirte¹⁰⁴ til that he sawe his wif torne ageyn willyng to entre and founde the doore shit. Wherof hir soule sorowed and so [she] knocked at the doore. The husbond heryng his wif and seeyng and as he knewe nat asked what she was; and she askyng foryevenes promyttyng never to do more so. In this it profited hir nat, but the husbond in his wrath saide that she shuld nat be suffred ther to entre, but to his friendes¹⁰⁵ and hirs it shuld be shewed. But she the more and more cryeng saide that but if he opened the doore she wold skippe in to the pitte the whiche that was next the house and so end hir lif; and so of hir deth he shuld yield reason to hir friendis and neighbourhs. He dispisyng his wifes threatis and manacis wold nat suffre hir to entre. The womman ful of art and guyle toke vp a grete ston and cast in the diche, to this entent that hir husbond heryng the sowne of the stoon fallyng in to the diche shuld trowe that she were falle into the diche; and this don she hid hir secretely bihynde the diche. The simple man and vnwise heryng a maner sowne of fallyng in to the diche without and tarieng went out of his hous in a grete haasty cours wenyng and trowyng that his wif had lept in to the diche. But the womman seyng the dore open, nat foryeteful of hir craft entred the house and shit the (f. 125^b) dore fast and went vp to the wyndow. He seeyng hymself so disceived saide: 'O thow false guyleful and ful of the devils craft, suffre me to entre and whatsumever thow hast don to me, wiouthfurth bileeve thow for a soth that I foryeve it.' To whom with grete blamyng and vtirly with othis sweryng [she] saide he shuld no entre have ther. And moreover saide: 'O thow traitor, of thi cursid deedis I shall shewe vnto [thy parents] forwhi every nyght thow art wont thieffy to go from me and go to thi strumpettis.' And so she dide. The friendis forsoth heryng this estemed and trowed it for a sooth and blamed the man. And so was the womman delyvered with hir fals craft, and al the wite and

¹⁰² Lat. (I, 19, l. 10) Quod ut sub oculo poneret, se finxit ebrium esse.

¹⁰³ Lat. Cuius rei mulier inscia.

¹⁰⁴ Lat. (I, 19, l. 13) stetitque ibi donec in camisia sua mulierem suam nudam revertentem vidit.

¹⁰⁵ Lat. suum suis parentibus.

peyne that she deserved torned vnto the man; to whom it profited nat anymore his wif to kepe. Forwhi also an hepe of wrecchidnès fil vnto this man, for the most dele of the people bilieveden that he hadde deserved this that he suffred."¹⁰⁶ Than quod the disciple: "Ther nys no man whiche may kepe hym from thengyne and wilis of womman but if that god kepe hym. So bi this tale I shal nat wedde bicause of this exhortacioun."¹⁰⁷ Than quod the Maister: "This oughtist thou [nat] to bileeve of al wymmen, forwhi grete chastite and¹⁰⁸ grete goodenes is Repared and arraied in many wymmen, and wite thou that in a goode womman may be arrettid goode felawship. A goode womman also is a feithful keper and a goode house. Salamon in thend of his proverbis made xxii verse of the laude and the goodenes of wymmen." To this the disciple saide: "Wele hastow comforted me. But herdistow ever of any suche womman whiche that torned hir wit and hir engyne vnto goode?" Quod the Maister: "I have herd." Quod the disciple: "Tel me of hir, for that were to me novelte and grete wounder." The Maister:

XII.¹⁰⁹ THE TALE OF THE TEN COFFERS.

"It is saide to me that suche a man of Spayne went to Miche and while he went he cam in to Egipt; whiche wold entre and pas thurgh the deserte [and] thought to leve his money in Egipt. And bfore that he would leve it he asked if any feithful man were in that Regioun to whom he myght leve it. And an auncient man shewed hym to a man named of goodenes and of trewth, to whom he left a thowsand talenis. From that he went furth and made anend of his journey and cam ageyn to hym to whom he commytted his money, and this that he to hym commytted asked. But he ful of wikkednesse saide that he never had seen hym tofore. Forsoth he so disceived went to the goode men of that Regioun and told to hem and reherced how he to whom he had commytted his money hadde hym entreatid. Forsoth neighbourhs heryng suche thynges of (f. 126) hym wolden nat bileeve it, but saiden it myght nat be but that he had lost his money. So every day he went to the house of hym to whom he commytted his money¹¹⁰ [and] with

¹⁰⁶ The last sentence of the tale in the Latin was omitted by the English translator (I, 20, l. 10), Wherefore at the compulsion of most good people, deprived of his dignities, lowered in esteem on account of slander from his wife, he had to suffer the penalty of incest.

¹⁰⁷ Lat. (I, 20, l. 14) est magna dehortatio.

¹⁰⁸ Ms. 'at.'

¹⁰⁹ No. XV in the original, I, 20, l. 22.

¹¹⁰ Lat. (I, 21, l. 4) illius qui retinebat iniuste pecuniam.

faire wordis and speche besought hym to yelde hym his money. Whiche that the disceivour heryng blamed hym and saide that if he any more cam or spak therof he shuld suffre grevous payne as he was worthy. He heryng the threatis and manacis of hym that disceived hym went his wey and bigan to sorowe; and in his goyng ageyne met with anold womman clad in heremytal clothyng,—this freal and fieble old wif supportyng hirsilf with hir staf, remoevyng the stones out of their place, [and] praisyng god that no passyngby hurt nat their feete at hem. The whiche seeyng the man wepyng, knewe hym for a straunger [and] moeved with pitee cald hym in to help [hym] and what was hym bifalle asked hym. And he bi order told. Forsoth the womman heryng the wordis of the man saide: 'Friend, if the wordis bien triewe that thow hast saide, I shal do the help.' And he: 'In what maner, goode womman and and goddis seruaunt?' Quod she than and saide: 'Bryng me a man of thi lond and cuntrey to whom thow maist trust in word and deede.' Than said he: 'I shal bryng [hym].' And sofurth to the felaw of hym that was disceived comaunded x cofres preciously to be peynted with dyvers colours withoutfurth, wele locked and bounden with irn and silver, and filled ful of smale stones. and bryng hem¹¹¹ vnto the house of his host. And he so dide. The womman whan she sawe al thing arraied and redy as she bad, 'Now,' quod she, 'seeke x men the whiche shuln go with me to the house of hym that hath deceived the, and with thi felaw beryng the cofres oon after another afer comyng. And as soone as the first is comen in to the house¹¹² and hath rested, com thow and aske thi money, and somoche I trust in god that thi money shalbe to the Restored.' And he, as the old womman bad hym, he dide; whiche nat foryeteful [when] taken to the house of the disceivour, with the felaw of the disceived cam and saide:¹¹³ 'Suche a man of Spayne [whiche] was hosted with me and wold go to Mehe asked and sought bfore the money whiche he hath in x cofres, to what goode man he myght sauflly commende it to kepe til he come ageyne. Also I beseche the as of my cause in thi warde thow kepe, and forwhi I have herd and also knowe the a goode man to be feithful and triewe, I wil nonother but only the this money to be commendid vnto.' And while they spoken thus cam he beryng the first cofre¹¹⁴ so as he was

¹¹¹ Ms. 'the' or 'ye.'

¹¹² Lat. (I. 21, l. 18) *illius hominis qui te decepit*.

¹¹³ The Latin (I. 21, l. 22) has, *Quae non oblita incepti quod praedixerat iter inceptit. Et venit cum socio decepti ad domum deceptoris et inquit.*

¹¹⁴ The Lat. (I. 22, l. 1) is different here, *venit primus deferens cofrum, aliis a longe iam apparentibus.*

comaunded, and another after afer so a longe appieryng; the dis-
 ceived [man] nat foryeteful of the old wommans comaundementis,
 cam after (f. 126^b) the first cofre. Forsoth he whiche had hid the
 money, ful of wikkidnes and cursed craft, as he saw the man
 comyng to whom he had hid and denyed the money, dredyng lest
 he wold aske or enquire questions¹¹⁵ of hem that dide do bryng
 thiese cofres of his money so taken and denyed, went agenst hym
 and saide: 'Friend, where hastow be and wher hast thou taried?
 Com and take thi money to me of trust commended, forwhi I have
 founde it and from hensfurth it werieth and lothith me to kepe
 it.' And than he glad and joyeng, Received the money doying
 thankynges. Thold wif whan she sawe hym havynge his money,
 risyng saide: 'Go we both, I and my felawe, rennyng bifore agenst
 our cofres to haast hem; and thou forsoth abide til we come ageyn,
 and kepe wele that now we han brought.' He forsoth with a glad
 soule kept that he had take and abode the comyng of theym that
 myghten com after. And so with goode wit and engyne of thold
 wif the money was yolden."¹¹⁶

The disciple: "This was a remarkable and useful trick and I do
 not think any philosopher could think out a more subtle means by
 which man could recover his money more easily." The master: "A
 philosopher might well do by his natural and artificial skill and also
 by studying the secrets of nature what the woman did by her clever
 wits alone." The disciple: "I can well believe it; but if thou hast
 stored away in the treasury of thy heart anything of this character
 from the philosophers, pray bestow it on me, thy disciple, and I
 will commend it to faithful memory, so that I may at some time feed
 this most delicate morsel to those of my fellow disciples who have
 been brought up on the milk of philosophy. The master:

XIII.¹¹⁷ THE TEN TUNS OF OIL.

"It happened that suche a man had a sone to whom after his
 deth nothyng he left sauf an house. This yong man with greate
 labour of his body lived and whiche with nature yeede vndir foote;¹¹⁸
 and though he were coarted and driven in grete nede, his house
 wold he nat selle. This chield had a neighburgh that was a grete
 Riche man whiche coveited to bié the house and yeve hym
 largely therfor. This chield forsoth wold nat selle it for price

¹¹⁵ Lat. (I, 22, l. 4) *timens ne, si pecuniam requireret.*

¹¹⁶ The connecting link between this tale and the following one in the Latin (I, 22, l. 13) was omitted by the translator.

¹¹⁷ No. XVI in the original. See I, 22, l. 20.

¹¹⁸ Lat. *Iste cum magno labore corpori suo vix etiam quae natura exigit suppe-*
-ditabat.

ne for praier. After that the Richeman comprised with what engyne or what craft he myght thynke to betray this chield of his house. And this yong man after his power eschewed the faimiliarite of the Riche man. Therof the Richeman was sorowful bicause of the house that he myght nat disceiue the chield, and vpon a day cam to the chield and saide: 'O goode [sir], leene me a litel part of thi court vpon a price, for in it vnder the erth x tonnes with oile wold I kepe, and nothyng shal it noye the and thow shalt have therof what sustenaunce of lif thow wilt.' The chield coarted with necessity¹¹⁹ graunted and yave hym the keyes of the hous. Forsoth the yong man in the meane tyme of his fredam frely servyng askd his mete. And so the Richeman toke the keyes and the court of that yong man strangled and digged, and v Tonnes ful of oile ther laide and v half ful. And that don [he] cald the yongman and toke hym the keyes of the house and saide: 'O yongman, myn oyle to the I commytte and in to thi kepyng I betake.' The simple yongman trowyng al the tonnes ful in to his warde and kepyng received. And after long tyme it happened that (f. 127) in that lond oile was diere. The Richeman heryng¹²⁰ this saide to the chield, 'O my friende, com and help me to digge vp myn oile that to thy kepyng now I have comaunded,' and of his labour takyng a Reward. The yongman forsoth heryng his price and his praier graunted to the Richeman and after his power halp hym. The richeman nat foryeteful of his fraude and guyle brought men as to bie the oile. To whom whan he had brought [hem, he] opened the ground and v ful tonnes and v half tonnes ther thei founden. Perceiuyng that, [he] cald the chield saieng thus vnto hym: 'Mi friende, bicause of thi kepyng I have lost myn oile; moreover that I commytted to the fraudelently thow hast taken away; wherfor I wil that thow restore me.' This saide, wold he nold he hym to the justice he ladde, and whan he sawe the justice to hym he accused. But the yongman wist nat what he shuld say agenst it, but only askid triews and respite of a day. That the justice that was rightwis hym grauntid. Forsoth in that Citee ther dwellid such a philosophre whiche was named a grete helpdoer, a goode man, and a Religious. Forsoth the yongman heryng of his goodenes sent a messangier vnto hym and counsail of hym sought and asked saieng: 'If thei bien triewe that bien saide and told to me¹²¹ of the, in homly maner do me help, for and for-

¹¹⁹ Lat. (I, 23, l. 3) *coactus necessitate*.

¹²⁰ Lat. *videns*.

¹²¹ The English omits *multis referentibus*.

soth vniustly and wrongfully I am accused.' The philosopher herd the praier of the yongman [and] askid hym if he iustly or vniustly were accused. Forsoth he affermed with an oth vniustly. The philosophre heryng the thyng of trowth and moevid with pite saide that 'with goddis help I shal help the; but as of the Right thow hast taken respite vnto morow day, whiche tho thynges at thoo plees nil thow nat leve¹²² and I shalbe redy to socoure thy trowth and to noisauce of their falsched.' Forsoth the yonge man dide that the philosophre badde. Forsoth the morow after [he] cam to the philosopher to the Right; whom after the Right had seen as a [wise] man cald the philosophre, and so cald made hym to sitte next hym. Than the Right callid thaccusers and the accused and comaunded that thei shulden Reherse the plees; and so thei diden. Of theym forsoth standyng bifore, the Right saide to the philosophre that the causes of hem he shuld here and therof do iugement. Than the philosophre saide to the Right: 'Now comaunde yee that the cliere oile of the v ful tonnes be mesured and thow shalt knowe and wite how moche ther be of cliere oile; and in like wise of the v half tonnes and thow (f. 127^b) shalt knowe how moche ther be of cliere oile. Than the thikke oyle of the v ful tonnes so measured and thow shalt know how moche thikke oile be in hem, and in like wise of the v half tonnes, if ther be asmoche as in the ful tonnes, know thow for a soth the oile is stolen. And if thow fynde in the half tonnes suche part of thikke oile as of cliere ther beyng went and issued out,¹²³ know thow for a sooth that oile nat to be stolen.' The Right heryng thus, confermed the iugement and so was don. And in this maner the yongman escaped with the wisdam of the philosophre. And so the plees endid, the yongman yielding thankynge to the philosophre. Than the philosopher saide vnto hym: 'Herdistow that never of the philosophre, "Ne bie thow non house bifore that thow knowe thi neighburgh".' To this the yong man: 'First we had an house that next vs hosted.' To whom the philosophre: 'First selle thyn hous bifore that thow dwel next a shrewde neighburgh.'" The disciple: "Suche iugement appierith to be [of] the philosopher and this is the grace of god and meritorily is cald this name, the help of wrecchis."¹²⁴

¹²² Lat. (I, 23, l. 26) *quin eas ad placita dimittere noli.*

¹²³ The English omits *quod quidem et in plenit tonellis invenire poteris.* See I, 24, l. 8.

¹²⁴ The short connecting link in the Latin is not given in the English. See I, 24, l. 15.

Then the disciple: "Though the things I have heard are fixed in my mind, yet they spur my soul on to wish to hear more." The Master said: "I will tell the gladly," and he began thus:

XIV.¹²⁶ THE TALE OF THE GOLDEN SERPENT

"It was saide of suche a Richeman in the Citee goyng, that a bagge ful with a thowsand talentis bare with hym and moreover a serpent of gold havynge eyen of jacynt in the same bagge, and al that he lost. And suche a poore man makynge ther his iourney fond it and yave it to his wif, and how that he found it to hir rehersed. The womman heryng this saide: 'That god hath yeven kepe we.' Another day a Bedil went bi the wey so to cry and to proclame: 'Who that hath founde suche money do yield it ageyn and without forfaiture or fraude he shall have therof an hundred talentis.' This heryng, the fynder of the money saide to his wif: 'Yield we the money and want any synne, we shuln have therof an hundred talentis.' To this the womman: 'If god had wold that he shuld enjoie the money he shuld nat have lost it. That god hath yeven kepe we.' The fynder of the money laboured as to yield it and she vtterly denied it. And whether she wold or nold, to the lord he hath yold it and that he promised asked. The Richeman ful of wikkidnes saide: 'That me lackith another serpent wite yee.' This that he saide was ¹²⁶ of a shrewde intencioun, as that he wold nat to the poore man yelde his promyse. The poore man saide he fonde nomore. And the men of that Citee fauorable to the Richeman, derogaunt and sharp agenst the fortune (f. 128) of povertie beryng hym haate, drewe hym and bitoke hym to the Right. Forsoth the poore man cried and swore, as it is above saide, that he fonde nomore. But while the word of this poore and richeman ran to the Ministres tellyng, the same smote and cam to the earis of the kyng. That as he had herd, called toguyder the Richeman and the poore and to hym[silf] comaunded to presente the money. Al thynges brought to the kyng, the philosophre whiche was cald the help of wrecchis with other sapient men cald and of his accusers to noye and to accuse, here and mark yee, the philosopher comaundith.¹²⁷ This herd [and] evenly moeved with pitee on the poore man, [he] cald hym vnto hym and saide: 'Tel me, my brother, if thow have the money of this man? that if thow have nat, with help

¹²⁶ No. XVII in the original (I, 24, l. 18).

¹²⁷ Ms. 'this.'

¹²⁷ Lat. (I, 25, l. 3) *Adductis omnibus rex philosophum qui vocabatur Auxilium Miserorum cum aliis sapientibus ad se vocavit eisque accusatoris vocem et accusati audire et enodare praecepit.*

of god I shal deliver the.' To this the poore man saide: 'God knowith that I have yielded as moche as I have founde.' Than the philosopher vnto the kyng: 'If it please [the] to here, rightwis iugement I shal say.' The kyng heryng this praied hym to deeme and juge it.

Than the philosophre to the kyng: 'This¹²⁸ is moche more credible and gretter wnesse of trowth hath, and it is nat to bileeve nor trust hym that askith that he lost nat. And of that other partie it seemyth to me Right credible that this goode poore man fond nomore than he hath yolden, and forwhi if he were an evil or a fals man; he wold nat have yolde that he hath yielded, but rather concealed and hid it.' Than the kyng: 'What forsoth demest thou,' quod the kyng to the philosophre? The philosophre than to the kyng: 'Take the money and yeve therof vnto the poore man an hundred talentis; and that remayneth kepe til he come that asked it, forwhi this money is nat his; and this richeman went to the bedil and made hym to aske the bagge with ii serpentis.' Forsoth it pleased to the kyng this jugement and to al tho standyng aboute hym. Forsoth the Richeman whiche had lost the bagge heryng this saide: 'Sir, and my lord the kyng, in veray trowth I say to the the money was myn. But forwhi that I wold take away that the bedil promysed to this poore man, yit hiderto I have saide I lacked another serpent. But now my kyng, have mercy on me and that the bedil promysed I shal yield to the pore man.' Than the kyng the money yieldid to the Riche and the Richeman to the poore; and so with the wit and engyne (f. 128^b) of the philosopher the poore man was delivered."¹²⁹

The link runs as follows in the Latin, beginning I, 25, l. 23:

The disciple: "This appears to be the spirit of philosophy, and in the light of this exemplum Solomon's judgment concerning the two women is not so remarkable."

The philosopher says: "Do not go on a journey with any man unless you have known him previously. If any unknown person joins thee on thy way and will learn about thy journey, tell him thou wishest to go further than thou plannedst for; and if he carries a lance go thou to the right; if a sword, go to the left."

The Arab corrected his son saying: "Follow beaten paths though they are longer than bypaths." And again: "Take a maid to wife though she be old." And again: "Bring thy wares to large cities though thou expectest to sell them cheaper there." To this the

¹²⁸ Lat. (I, 25, J. 10) Iste homo dives bouns multum est et ut.

¹²⁹ After this tale the English version omits the immediately following link as well as the succeeding tales of the Latin (No. XVIII) entitled *The Path and The Ford* (Lat. a) *Exemplum de semita* (b) *Exemplum de vado*), cf. I, 26.

son: "What thou sayest about main roads is true.¹²⁰ For on a certain day when my companions and I wished to arrive in the city by sunset and were still a long way from it, we saw a footpath which it seemed would shorten the journey. But we met an old man and inquired of him about the course of that path. The old man said: 'The footpath leads more direct to the city than the highway and yet you will arrive there more quickly by the highway.' When we heard this we considered him a fool, and letting him proceed along the highway, we turned into the bypath. Pursuing this path now to the right and now to the left, we wandered about until it was night and did not reach the city. But if we had followed the main road we would no doubt have entered the walls of the city." The father replied to this:¹²¹ "It happened to us differently as we were following the highway to the city; there was a river before us which we had to cross by some means before we could enter the city. And so, as we were proceeding on the journey we found the road divided, one fork of which led to the city through a ford, the other by a bridge. And then we saw an old man, of whom we inquired which of the two ways would bring us more quickly into the city. And the old man said the road by the ford was shorter by two miles than the road over the bridge. 'But, nevertheless,' he said, 'you will arrive in the city more quickly by the bridge.' And some of our party made fun of the old man, as certain of yours before did, and took the way across the ford. And some of them had their companions swept down by the current, others lost their horses and baggage, some had their clothes soaked with water, and others wept because their clothes were lost entirely. But we and our old man who crossed by the bridge proceeded without hindrance and any inconvenience and found them again, lamenting their losses on the bank of the river. To whom thus weeping and searching the depths of the river with rakes and nets the old man said: 'If you had gone with us across the bridge, you would not have had this delay.' But they replied: 'We did this because we did not wish to be delayed on the way.' And the old man answered to this: 'Now you are still more delayed.' Then we left them behind and joyfully entered the gates of the city. I once heard this proverb: 'The long road to heaven is preferable to the short road to hell'."

The fader saide to the sone:¹²² "If thow be in the wey with any felaw, love thow hym as thisilf and thynk nat in any wise to disceive hym lest he disceive the, as ii Burgeis and a Cherl happed to felawship." Quod the sone: "Fader, tel me that as sum profite therof may be taken hereafter." The fader saide:

¹²⁰ *Concerning a Footpath*, No. XVIII (a) I, 26.

¹²¹ (b) *About a Ford* (I, 26, f. 14).

¹²² Lat. (I, 27, l. 1) *Arabs castigavit filium suum.*

XV.¹³⁵ THE THREE PILGRIMS TO MECCA AND THE LOAF

"It is saide of ii Burgeis and a Cherl [that] bicause of devocioun went to Meche [and] that wern felawes at mete, whan"¹³⁴ thei comen nygh Meche theym failed vitaile, so that ther remayned nothyng to theym but a litel meale or flour of the whiche they made hem a litel lof. The burgeis forsoth seyng that saiden vnto hemself: 'We have but litel brede and our felaw is a grete eter, wherfor it bihovith vs to have counsaile how we may withdrawe from hym a part of [his] brede, and that vs ought to ete alonly ete we.' Than thei token counsaile in this maner that thei shuld do make a cake or a lof baken, and while it baked thei slept and everiche of the Burgeis dreamed a woundirful swevene.¹³⁶ And or that thei leiden hem to sleepe thei saiden to hemself: 'That while the cherl sleepith craftily we shuln ete this brede that he shal nat wite ne knowe it.'¹³⁶ And the cherl perceived the wikednes of the ii felawes, drewe the brede out of the fuyre half baken and ete it and leide him down.¹³⁷ But oon of the burgeis so as he slept was agast and wooke and cald to his felaw. 'To whom that other of the burgeis saide: 'How is [it] with the?' Than he saide: 'I have seen a wounderful swevene. Forwhi as it seemed to me that verily aungels¹³⁸ opened the yatis of hevene and takyng me led me bfore god.' To whom his felaw: 'It is a mervailous swevene that thou hast seen. And I have dreamed that ii angels ledyng me opened therth and brought me in to helle.' The cherl heryng al this [was] feyneng hymself a sleepe. But the disceived burgeys willyng [to] disceive hym callid the cherl and awaked hym. The wily cherl as he had be agast aunswerd: 'What bien yee that callen me?' [Thei saide]: 'We bien thy felawes.' And the cherl: 'Be yee now come ageyn?' Than they ageyn to hym: 'Whider shuld we go from whens we ought to come?' To this [the cherl]: 'It was seen to me in my visioun that forsoth oon of yow was taken of aungels whiche¹³⁹ opened the yaatis of hevene and led hym bfore god. And that that other was taken also of aungels that opened therth and led hym down to helle. I seeyng thiese thynges [and] never trowyng of (f. 129) yowre comyng ageyn, aros and eete vp the brede'." [And the fader]: "And so

¹³⁵ No. XIX in the original. See I, 27, l. 5.

¹³⁴ Ms. 'and whan'; Lat. donec venirent prope Mech.

¹³⁶ The English omits solus panem comederet.

¹³⁶ The preceding two sentences translate the Latin very freely: Hoc artificiose dicebant, quia rusticum simplicem ad huiusmodi ficticia deutebant. Et fecerunt panem miseruntque in ignem, deinde iacuerunt ut dormirent.

¹³⁷ The Latin has dormientibus sociis before the phrase 'out of the fuyre.'

¹³⁸ Lat. duo angeli.

¹³⁹ Ms. 'and.'

my sone, it happened and cam so to, that thei whiche wold han disceived their felaw that with his wit thei wern disceived."¹⁴⁰

Then the son: "It happened to them as it is told in the proverb: 'He who wanted all lost all.' Such also is the nature of the dog whom they resemble: one of them tries to take away another's food. But if they followed the instinct of the camel they would imitate a gentler nature; for the nature of the camel is such, that when fodder is given to many of them at the same time, no one of them will eat until they can all eat together. And if one is so weak that he can not eat; the others refuse to eat until he is taken away. And since these peasants desired to assume the nature and manner of an animal, they should have followed the nature of the gentlest animal; and so they deserved to lose their food. But also I wish that could have happened to them which I have heard my master say happened once upon a time to the king's tailor instead of to his apprentice Nedwy, to wit, he was openly beaten with cudgels." The father replied to this: "Tell me, son, what you heard. What happened to the apprentice? for such a story will be a recreation to my soul." The son:

XVI.¹⁴¹ THE MASTER TAILOR AND HIS APPRENTICE NEDWY

"It is saide¹⁴² that suche a kyng had suche a Tailour the whiche dyvers tymes shoope to hym dyvers clothis apt vnto his body. And he had disciples and lerners of sowyng whiche everiche of hem craftily sowed.¹⁴³ Among the whiche [was] oo disciple named Nedwy whiche in the craft of [sowyng] was the best and past any of his felawes. But a grete feste day comyng the kyng cald vnto hym his tailour and his drapers and comaunded hem to array for the tyme comyng for hym and for his seruauntis precious clothis. That as soone and without any impedymment it were don, oon of his chambrelayns, a geldyng of whom was thoffice and the warde of sowers to kepe, addid and saide as that noon of hem observe ne kepe no croked nor long nailes, and praied that he shuld mynistrer vnto hem sufficient necessities. But in a day the mynistres of the kyng hote brede and hony with other disshes to the tailour and his felawship yaven to ete, and whiche that ther wern comaunded to ete. To whom so etyng saide the geldyng: 'Maister, whi ete yee, and Nedwy beyng absent neither yee abide hym nat?' Quod the Maister: 'Forwhi he etith no hony though he were here.' And so they eten. Than cam Nedwy and saide: 'Whi ete yee and I absent nor therof kepe my part?' Than

¹⁴⁰ The English omits most of the discussion between the father and son which serves as a connecting link between exempla XIX and XX of the Latin. See I, 28, l. 2 ff.

¹⁴¹ No. XX in the original. See I, 28, l. 13.

¹⁴² Lat. Narravit mihi magister meus.

¹⁴³ The English omits here quod magister incisor regis artificiosae scindebat.

the geldyng saide: 'Thy Maister saide that thou etist no hony though thou haddest bien here.' And he was stil and thought how that he myght recompense and quite his Maister. And this don Nedwy in his Maister absence secretly saide to the geldyng: 'Sir, my Maister is frentik and while he suffrith that he leesith his wit and vndiscretly betith and hurtith theym that bien aboute hym.' To whom the geldyng: 'If I knewe the tyme whan this to hym fallith, nat vnwarly don, I shuld bynde hym and with whippes correcte hym.' Than Nedwy saide: 'Whan thou seest hym bihold and looke hider and thider and betyng the grounde with his handis and risyng from his seete and castyng away the stoole that he sat on with his hand, than thou maist knowe that he is out of his wit; and but if thou and thyne¹⁴⁴ provide with a staf he wil hurte or breke yowr (f. 129^b) hedis.' To this the Geldyng: 'Blessid be thou; forwhi from hens-furth I shal purvey for me and myn.' Suche thynges saide, Nedwy the next suyng [day] secretly hid his Maister sheeris; and he¹⁴⁵ nat fyndyng hem bigan to smyte the grounde with his handis and to biholde here and there, arisyng from his seete and the stoole that he sat vpon to overterve. The geldyng seeyng this anon cald felawship and saide: 'Bynde yee the tailour that he ne bete ne smyte nonother and greuously bete ye hym.' But the tailour cried so and saide: 'What have I forfeted, or what or wherfor bete yee me thus?' But thei the more sharply betyn hym and wern stil forsoth. Whan they wern wery of betyng and scourgyng hym, thei leften and loosed hym only with the lif. The whiche respityng but a long while bitwene, asked of the geldyng what he had forfeted. To this the geldyng saide: 'Thi disciple Nedwy told me that whan thou art out of thi wit and woode that neither but in bondis and betynges thou be corrected, thou canst nat ceese; and therfor I bond the and bete the.' The tailour heryng this cald Nedwy his disciple and saide: 'Friend, whan knewistow me out of wit?' To this¹⁴⁶ the disciple: 'Whan knewistow me nat to ete hony?' The geldyng and other heryng this lawghed and demed ever either worthi his penaunce that he had taken.' To this the fader saide: 'Meritorily this fil, forwhi if he had kept that Moyses comaunded as to love his brother as hym-silf, this had nat¹⁴⁷ happed or come vnto hym.'¹⁴⁸

The link contains the following: The wise man reproved his son saying: "Be careful to make no charges against thy companion

¹⁴⁴ Lat. nisi tibi et tuis provideris; 'with a staf' not in Lat.

¹⁴⁵ English omits At incisor quaerens forfices. I, 29, l. 2.

¹⁴⁶ 'This' repeated in Ms.

¹⁴⁷ 'hadde nat' repeated in Ms.

¹⁴⁸ The rest of the link and the immediately following tale of the original version (*The Two Jesters—De doubus ioculatoribus*) are omitted in the English translation.

either seriously or in sport, lest it befall thee as it befell the two jesters before the king." To this the son: "Tell me about that father, I pray thee." The father: "All right. A certain jester once came to the king, whom the king made to sit at meat with another jester. But the latter began to be envious of the new comer after his arrival because the king had favored him more than himself and all those about the court. And in order that this state of things might not last long he planned to put him in disgrace so that he would have to run away. Therefore while the others were eating the first jester put the bones together and placed them before his companion; and when the meal was finished he showed the king the pile of bones, arranged for the disgrace of his companion, saying sharply: 'My companion has eaten the covering of all those bones.' And the king looked at him with an angry scowl. But the accused said to the king: 'Master I did it because my nature, as is human, required me to eat the flesh and throw away the bones; and my companion did what his nature, apparently that of a dog, demanded, in eating both flesh and bones.'"

The philosopher said: "Honor thyself as the lesser person and give him of thy substance, just as thou wishest that the greater honor thee and give thee of his substance." Another: "It is indeed base for a rich man to be avaricious, but it is beautiful for man of moderate means to be liberal."¹⁴⁹

The disciple saide to the Maister: "Write thow to me the diffinioun of the largesse, the Auarous, and the Prodogus; that is to say, the large or free man, the Covetous man, and the wastour."¹⁵⁰ [The fader]: "Whiche yevith to whom it is to yeve and withholdith and reteyneth to whom it is to withhold, is¹⁵¹ large; and [whiche] forbodith to whom it is forboden and to whom it is nat forboden [is] covetous.¹⁵² And who that yevith to whom it is nat to yeve is a wastour."¹⁵³

"Do not engage in a business that is failing, and do not delay to become associated with a growing business." Another: "A little happiness is of more worth than a house full of gold and silver." Another: "Strive for the useful with great care, not with great haste." Another: "Do not look upon one richer than thyself lest thou sin against him, but upon one who is poorer than thyself and then thank God." Another: "Do not deny God because of poverty, and do not be proud because of riches," Another: "He who desires much is always consumed with hunger for more." Another: "If you only wish to have as much in this world as will suffice for

¹⁴⁹ At this point in the connecting link between tales XXI and XXII of the Latin (cf. I, p. 30) the Middle English takes up the thread of the story again.

¹⁵⁰ Lat. (I, 30, l. 1) Discipulus ait: Diffinitionem largi et avari et prodigi mihi subscribe. Pater, et cet.

¹⁵¹ Ms. 'and'.

¹⁵² Ms. 'and covetous to whom it is nat forboden'; Lat. Et qui prohibet quibus prohibendum est et quibus non est prohibendum, avarus est.

¹⁵³ The English omits the rest of the link, excepting the speech of the last one of the several philosophers who engage in the discussion.

nature, it is not fitting that you acquire much; and if you wish to satisfy an avaricious mind, then, though you acquired everything on the face of the earth, the lust for gain will still burn within you." Another: "His wealth will last long who spends it sparingly." Another: "The source of peace is not to desire what belongs to another, and the fruit of it is to have rest." Another: "Whoever wishes to abandon life, let him see that he retain nothing that belongs to it, since only so much is worth while, unless he will extinguish the fire with dross." Another: "Whoever acquires wealth, works hard and languishes with watchfulness that he may not lose it; then he is wretched when he loses what he had acquired." The disciple to the master: "Do you praise the gaining of money?" The master: "Indeed I gain it; but spend it justly and for good purposes, and do not conceal it in your treasury."

And another philosopher saith: "Ne desire thow non other mans thyng and sorow thow nat of thynges lost, for of sorowe nothyng shalbe recoverable." Wherof he saith:

XVII¹⁵⁴. THE CHURL AND THE BIRD

"Suche oon had a greene orchard or gardyn in whiche was moche and grete fuyssoun of grene herbis. What shal I say ellis? Ther was a place also Right delectable in whiche ther gadred grete multitude of briddis with dyvers melodie of dyuers and many swete songes executyng.¹⁵⁵ Vpon a day while he for werynes Restid in his orchard suche a bridde (f. 130) sat vpon the tre, whiche that he sye and herd his voice and deceivaibely toke hym in a snare. To whom the brid: 'Why hastow laboured so moche to take me, or what profite hopistow to have in takyng of me?' [To this the man]: 'Only thi songes I desire to here.' To whom the brid: 'Triedly forwhi? for nothing price nor praier shal I syng.' Than he: 'But if thow syng I shal ete the.' And the brid: 'In what maner wilt¹⁵⁶ thow ete me?. If thow ete me soden or bake what shal it availe of so litel a brid?'¹⁵⁷ And if I be Rosted moche lasse shal I be. But if thow wilt lete me go, grete profite therof wil folowe.' Quod he: 'What profite wil ther be therof?' The brid saide: 'I shal shewe the iii wisdom¹⁵⁸ that shuln availe the more than the flessch of iii calves.' And he folowyng the briddes promyse leete hym go. To whom the brid: 'Oon of the promises [is] that thow beleve nor

¹⁵⁴ No. XXII in the original, I, 30, l. 26.

¹⁵⁵ This entire passage corresponds to the following sentence of the Latin (I, p. 30): *Quidam habuit virgultum, in quo rivulis fluentibus herba viridis erat et pro habilitate loci conveniebant ibi volucres modulamine vocum cantus diversos exercentes.*

¹⁵⁶ Ms. 'that' for 'wilt.'

¹⁵⁷ English omits *Et etiam caro erit hispida.*

¹⁵⁸ Lat. (I, 31, l. 8) *sapientiae manerias.*

trust nat to every man. The secunde is, that shalbe thyn alwey thow shalt have. The thrid is, ne sorowe thow nat of thynges lost.' This saide, the litel brid ascendid vpon the tree and with a sweete voice bigan to syng: 'Blessid be god that hath shit and closed the sight of thyn eyen and taken away thi wisdom, forwhi if thow haddest sought in the plites of myn entrailes thow shuldest have founde a jacinct the weight of an vnce.' He heryng this bigan to wepe and to sorowe and to smyte his brest with his fist for he yave feith to the litel brid. And than the brid saide vnto hym: 'Thow art soone forgetful of [the] wit of whiche I saide vnto the. Whether I saide nat to the that thow shuldist nat beleve everyman of that he saith to the? And how belevistow that in me shuld be a jacynt the weight of an vnce, whan I and al my body is nat of somoche weight? And now I say to the that that thyn is alwey thow shalt have. And how maistow have a stone in me a fleeyng foul? Now I saie to the: ne sorowe thow never of thynges lost. And why sorowest thow of the jacynt whiche in me is?' Suche thynges saide to grete scorn to the Cherl the brid fligh away to the woode."¹⁵⁹

The philosopher chastised his son saying: "Read everything that falls in your way but do not believe everything you read." To this the disciple: "I believe this to be a fact: not everything that is in books is true. For I have already read something like this in the books and proverbs of philosophers: 'There are many trees but not all of them bear fruit; there are many fruits but they are not all edible'."

Arabs chastised his sone saieng: "Sone ne leve thow nat thynges present for thynges to come, forwhi haply thow shalt leese both as it happened to the wolf of two promyses made to hym of the Cherl.

XVIII.¹⁶⁰ THE PLOWMAN WITH HIS OXEN AND THE WOLF AND THE FOX

"It is saide forwhi of a plowghman that for his oxen wold nat drawe rightly, he saide the wolf shuld ete hem. The wulf heryng that rested. Whan the day declyned to the nyght and the cherl loosid his oxen out of the plowgh, the wulf cam vnto hym saieng: 'Yeve me thyn oxen whiche thow promisest (f. 130^b). To this the ploughman: 'If I saide so I affermed it nat with an oth.' And the Wulf ageyn to hym: 'I ought to have that thow promysedest.' Ther thei affermeden that it shuld come to iugement. That while they maken thei metten with the Fox. To whom the wily fox saide

¹⁵⁹ The English omits the first paragraph of the connecting link as given in the Latin version. See I, 31, l. 21.

¹⁶⁰ No. XXIII of the original, I, 32.

in their goyng: 'Whider tenden ye to go?' Thei than that was don told the fox. [To whom he] saide:¹⁶¹ 'For nought ellis seeken yee a juge, forwhi therof I shal do rightwis iugement. But first suffre me to speke with oon of yow in counsail, and fro that with that other; and so I may make yow to accorde without a juge the sentence shalbe hid and clos. If forsoth otherwise incontynent be it saide.' And thei graunted; and the fox first abakk spak with the plowghman and saide: 'Gyve me an henne and another for my wif, and thow shalt have thyn oxen.' And the plowghman graunted; and this don the fox spake to the wulf saieng: 'Here thow, my friend, for thi merites and Rewardis bfore promysed as I ought if thei had bien myn owne, I have facundly somoche laboured and spoken with the Cherl that if thow wilt lete his oxen go quyte he shall yeve the a cheese to the gretnes of an helm made.' This don the wulf graunted. To whom the fox saide: 'Graunte thow the ploughman his oxen away to leede, and I shal bryng the wher that his cheesis bien arraied and made, as that thow maist cheese of as many as thow wilt.' But the dul and foolissh wulf deceived bi the wordis of the fox, suffred the cherl to go. The fox forsoth wandryng hider and thider as moche as he myght, brought the wulf out of the wey. Whiche whan the derk nyght cam vpon, the fox brought the wulf to a diepe diche vpon whiche diche they stode; the forme of the half moone shewed and shyned in the bottom of the diche, and [he] saide: 'Here is the cheese which I promysed [the]. If it please the go doun and etc.' Quod the wulf: 'Go thow doun first and etc.' Than quod the fox:¹⁶² 'Go thow doun first and if thow maist nat only bryng the cheese, I shal do as thow biddist'.¹⁶³ And this saide thei saw a corde hangyng in the diche in whos hede a litel possenet was bounde, and in that other hede of the corde another litel possenet. And thei hyng bi suche engyn and sleight that whan that oon aros that other went doun. That as the Fox sye, as to the praiers and besechynges of the wulf, entred in to the litel pot and cam to the bottum. The wulf therof was glad and saide: 'Whi bryngest me nat the cheese?' Quod the Fox: 'I may nat for the gretnes; but entre thow that other pot and come as thow saidest thow woldest.' The wulf entryng in to the pot with his gretnes anon asked and cam to the bottum, that (f. 131) other risyng with the fox whiche was glad. Whiche the litel fox whan he touched the mowth of the diche lept out and left the wulf in the diche. And

¹⁶¹ Ms. 'What saide:' Lat. Quibus dixit.

¹⁶² This sentence not in the Latin. See I, 32, 1. 21.

¹⁶³ Lat. Descende tu primitus, et si sola deferre non poteris, ut te iuvem faciam quae hortaris.

so for thyng to come [he] lost that was present: the wolf lost both oxen and cheese."

One sentence of the Latin connecting link is here¹⁶⁴ omitted the sense of which is: The Arab reproved his son saying: "Take counsel of that one who has experience in the thing thou askest about, for thou canst thus gain experience more easily than if thou makest the experiment thyself.

Svcheon chastised his sone [saying]: "Ne trust nat to the counsail that thow herist of al men lest it fal to the as it happened to the thief whiche trusted and trowed to the counsail of sucheon." To that the sone: "How cam it to hym, Fader?" Than the fader saide:

XIX.¹⁶⁵ THE THIEF AND THE MOONBEAM

"It is saide that suche a thief went to the house of suche a Richeman of entent to Robbe and stele; and ascended vp to the Roof and cam to the wyndowe or lover bi whiche the smoke went out and herkened if any withyn were awake. That whiche the lord of the house aperceived [and] saide softly vnto his wif: 'Aske and crie thow with an high voice whens it cam to me, the grete plente of money that I have. That as to cry and reherse laboure thow moche.' Than she with a grete voice saide: 'Sir, wherof hastow somoche money and thow wer never no Marchaunt?' [And he]: 'That god hath gyven kepe thow and do therof thi wil and aske nat wherof somoche money comyth.' And she, as she was enjoyned, more and more cried, reherced, and stired. Than he therof as coarted to the praiers of his wif saide: 'See that thow ne discovreoure counsail to any man; I was a thief.' Than saide she: 'It seemyth wonder to me how somoche money thow myghtest purchase and gete with theft and never I herd clayme ne chalange therof.'¹⁶⁶ Than saide he: 'Suche a Maister of myn taught me a charme that I shuld sey¹⁶⁷ whan I shuld ascende to the Roof of the house. And comyng to the wyndow I toke the beame of the Moone with myn hand and vii tymes saide my charme, that is to say, SAULE. And so I descendid and cam down without perel, and what precious thyng I fond in the house I tooke it; and that don eftsones I cam to the beame of the Moone and the same charme vii tymes saide, with al that taken in the house I ascended and bare away and brought to my howse. With suche engyne and wit I possede the money that I now have.' Than the wif saide: 'Thow

¹⁶⁴ I, 33, l. 3.

¹⁶⁵ No. XXIV in the original, I, 33, l. 8.

¹⁶⁶ Lat. Calumpniam inde.

¹⁶⁷ Ms. repeats 'whan that I shuld sey.'

didest weele of tho¹⁶⁸ thynges that thow hast saide and told to me; forwhi whan I have a sone I shal teche hym this charme that he shal nat neede to be poore.' And than the lord of the house saide: 'Suffre me now to sleepe for I am hevy of sleepe and wold rest.' And as somoche the more he mygt disceive the thief he snorted and Rented as he had bigonne to sleepe. And the thief¹⁶⁹ parceiving thoo wordis was glad and vii tymes saide the same charme and with his hand tooke the beame of the (f. 131^b) Moone, straught out his handis and his feete from the wyndow, and fil in to the house, makyng a grete sowne and noise and with his bak and his arm broken lay wailyng. And the lord of the house as nat knowing [it] saide: 'Who art thow whiche fallist so?' To that the thief: 'I [am] an vnhappy¹⁷⁰ thief whiche trustid to thi fals and gylful wordis.'

To this the sone: "Fader, blissed be thow for thow hast taught me to beware of fals and gyleful counsail."¹⁷¹

(f. 135^b) The philosopher: 'Biware the counsail of therfbrede til it be sowre dowgh.' Another: 'Ne bilieve the counsail that thow denyest of the moever of anothers goode dede, forwhi who that denyeth a goode dede before the eyen of hem all that hym biholdith hymself accusith.' Another: 'If thow be in any goodenes ne synne thow nat: kepe the,¹⁷² for oftentyme the grettest goodenes is mynushid and made lasse or lost bi the lest.'" The disciple asked his Maister: "Whether the philosopher forbedith a goode dede of his creator and maker or of his creature?"¹⁷³ To this the Maister: "I sey to the that he whiche denyeth a goode dede he denyeth god; and he whiche obeieith nat vnto his kyng and Ruler is disobedient vnto god." The disciple saide: "Shewe the reason how that may be." The Maister saide: "No goode dede procedit from creature to creature but it procede of god; and he the whiche denyeth a goode dede denyeth his benefactours and so he denyeth god, also the kyng whiche is Ruler and the veray trewe yerde of god is in erth."¹⁷⁴ Another philosopher saith: 'Kepe the from the kyng whiche is fiers

¹⁶⁸ Ms. 'that of tho.'

¹⁶⁹ Ms. 'thyng.'

¹⁷⁰ Ms. more like 'vnhappy.'

¹⁷¹ Part of the connecting link between this and the following exemplum, as the tales are arranged in the Latin (see I, 34), was taken out of its proper setting by the English translator, or by some copyist of the Middle English version, and shifted to the end of tale No. XXVII (No. XXXIV of the original and the real conclusion of the *Disciplina*), there serving as part of the connecting link between XXVII and XXVIII. In this reprint it is inserted where it naturally comes in the Latin.

¹⁷² Lat. ne pecces serva.

¹⁷³ Lat. (I, 34, l. 8) Prohibuit philosophus benefactum denegare; sed non divisit benefactum creatoris et creaturae?

¹⁷⁴ The Latin differs from the English in this sentence, Item: Rex qui rector verax est, virga Dei in terra est; et ille qui obedit virgae, obedit rectori; et ille qui non obedit virgae, non obedit Deo, I, 34, ll. 14-15.

as a lioun and light to wrath as a chield.' Another: (f. 136) 'Whiche saith evil of his king bfore the time of his deth'.* Another saith: 'God suffrith lengger a synful kyng to Reigne in his persone if he be goode and meke to his people than he doeth a iust kyng in his persone if he be evil and cruel to his people.'¹⁷⁵

Aristotil in his Epistel chasticed Alexander the kyng so saieng: 'Bettir it is with a fewe pesibly to Rule than to hold to grete chivalry'.¹⁷⁶ Also: 'Hold Rightwise justice bitwene men and they shuln love the; and array the nat'¹⁷⁷ to yelde to any the borrowed change of goode or evil, forwhi a friend shal abide the long'.¹⁷⁸

XX.¹⁷⁹ CONCERNING MARIANUS

"Plato the philosopher rehersith¹⁸⁰ that suche anold kyng was in Grece cruel to his peple. This grew and encreised in grete werre of many of his elders.¹⁸¹ Of whiche that he myght knowe the comyng and hap therof he sent for al the philosophres of the Regioun. Whiche whan thei wern gadred he saide: 'See yee a how moche and how grete batail is to yow and to me, that for my synne I trowe it is come to vs. But if any thyng is in me that is reprehensible sey yee, and I shal hast me in yowre iugement to be corrected.' Than the philosophers saiden: 'Of any crymes in yowr body we knowe non, neither what to vs and to yow so comen we wote nat. But here nygh vs¹⁸² dwellith suche an old man whos name is Maryne¹⁸³ whiche spekith with the holi gost. To hym therfor send yee sum men¹⁸⁴ by whom to vs what in al our lif is to come he shal declare.' Thiese thynges don, he sent vnto hym vii philosophres; whiche Citee in which he bfore dwelled thei entred. of the whiche thei fond the most part desert. But they seekyng his house, that is to say of Maryne, it was saide and told that he and many of the Citezeins wern gon in to [the] wildernes. The philosophers heryng this went vnto hym; whiche and whom [when] the wise man sawe he saide: 'Com yee, Com yee ambassatours and legatis of the vnobedient kyng. Forsoth god hath yeven hym in to

*According to the Latin (I, 34, l. 18) this is: 'Who speaks evil of the king shall die before his time.'

¹⁷⁵ Then we go back to f. 132b of the Worc. Ms., near the top of the page.

¹⁷⁶ Lat. (I, 34, l. 22) *magnam militiam tenere*.

¹⁷⁷ Lat. *nec properes*.

¹⁷⁸ Lat. (I, 34, ll. 23-24) *quia diutius expectabit te amicus et diutius timebit te inimicus*.

¹⁷⁹ No. XXV of the original, I, 34, l. 25.

¹⁸⁰ Lat. *retulit in libro de prophetiis*.

¹⁸¹ *Multis e partibus*.

¹⁸² Lat. *Sed hic prope viam trium dierum*.

¹⁸³ The four words beginning with 'whos' inserted on the margin of the Ms.

¹⁸⁴ Lat. *de philosophis vestris aliquos*.

the ward and kepyng of dyuers naciouns, forwhi he is no Right Ruler nor gouernour but an enemy. God forsoth whiche hym and his subiectis of the same and nat of dyvers matiers hath made and formed, but his vnmoderate wikkidnes long while hath suffred and with many correcciouns he hath monysshed and warned, as to be torned and conuerted. But al vtirly only to the evil of his froward soule of no noysaunce in to mercy of the barbaryus people and nacioun hath areised.¹⁸⁵ And this saide the wiseman stilled. That the philosophres heryng woundred and al tho that ther weren. The iii day after the philosophers asked (f. 132) licence to go ageyn; than that Reuerent with a spirite of prophecie saide vnto hem: "Torne ye now ageyn forwhi yowre kyng is dede, and god now ther hath set another kyng whiche shalbe a Rightful gouernour and meke to al his people and subiectis." Suche thynges herd of the vii philosophers that com, iii of theym remayned and abode with this wise man in [the] wildernes and iiij of theym went home ageyn in to their cuntrey; whiche fonde al thynges as it was theym told and saide."¹⁸⁶

XXI.¹⁸⁷ ETIQUETTE IN THE KING'S SERVICE

[The fader]: "Who that wilbe seruauant vnto a kyng ought to see with al the sight of his mynde, than whan he comith to the kyng, that he may long stonde ne never sitte til the kyng comaunde, nother speke but whan it is neede; nother tary or abide but whan the kyng comaundith hym to dwelle and abide, and his counseil triewely kepe; and alwey be intentief to here what the kyng saith, neither hym bihovith of this to aske the kynges comaundement and whatsumever he comaundith do it; but beware ne lie nat vnto thi kyng, and see that he love his kyng and be to hym obedient; ne never associe ne felawship the nat with noman that the kyng hatith or that he hatith the kyng.¹⁸⁸ And whan he hath done al this and many another, haply [he] therby shal riȝt have no grete profite of the kyng." Than the sone: "Nothyng worse

¹⁸⁵ This sentence is not at all clear in the translation because it is so inexact: *Sed tandem omnino ad malum eius pertinaci animo in illius necem immisericordes et barbaras suscitavit gentes.* See I, 35, l. 13.

¹⁸⁶ Tale XXVI in the Latin is in reality about the wise merchant who refused to settle in the country of a king whose expenses were as great as his income, which the English translation reproduces as No. XXIV instead of XXI, as it would be in the natural order of the dialogues. But No. XXI of the English version does reproduce a part of the lengthy discussion between the Arab and his son concerning the proper etiquette to be observed by any one in the service of a king, which follows No. XXVI in the Latin (I, 36, l. 26—p. 28, l. 9.)

¹⁸⁷ No. XXVI, the concluding discussion of the original; the first part having been shifted in the Middle English so as to form No. XXIV (which should, but does not, correspond to No. XXIX of the original).

¹⁸⁸ Lat. has only *quem rex odio habebit.*

fallith or happenyth to a man than long to serve [the king] and no goode to geete nor purchase." [The] Fader: "Many of thynges now happenyth and cometh, and therfor the philosophre comaundith that noman overmoche tary with his kyng nor in his seruice." And another: "Who servith to the kyng without fortune so as I shal sey he leesith this world?"¹⁸⁰ And the sone: "O fader, whi foryettest thou to tel how a man ought to ete tofore a kyng?" [The fader]: "I am nat foryetful to tel, forwhi no difference is to ete before a kyng and elliswhere." The sone: "Say therfor how everywher a man ought to ete." [The fader]: "With vnwasshen handis ne touche nor ete noon of thi lordis mete; ne ete thou no brede til ther come another dissh vpon the table, ne speke thou nat vnpatiently neither; only be ther noon grete embosyng¹⁸⁰ put in thi Mowth, neither any crommes flowe or falle out;¹⁸¹ and also behave the that thou speke nat with swolowyng;¹⁸² nother swolow thou no morsel bfore that it be wele chewed in thi Mowth, lest thou be strangled; ne take neither mete ne drynk¹⁸³ til thi Mowth be voide; ne speke thou nat envi[n]ously;¹⁸⁴ ne speke thou nat while thou holdist anythyng in thi mowth, neither any thyng entre in to the throte in thyn inward arterie that myght be cause of thi deth; and if thou see any thyng¹⁸⁵ in the dissh that pleasith the, ne take it nat bfore thi felaw lest he say the to be shrewissh and cherolissh. After mete wassh thyn handis, for it is phisik and curtesy; of this forsoth (f. 132^b) the eyen of many men bien empeired that after mete wipen with vnwasshen handis." [The] Sone: "Whosoever biddith me to mete, what shal I aunswer? Shal I graunt or nat?" The fader: "Do thou as it is comaunded of the Jewis." He saith: "Forsoth whosomeuer biddith the, see thou the persone of the bidder. If he be a worthy and a notable persone, anon graunt thou hym. Than if he be nat after that it shalbe the thrid or the secunde tyme, and this¹⁸⁶ is reherced of Habraham: Suche a day forsoth whan he stode bfore his yaate [he] sawe goyng vnder mannes liknes iii Angels, the whiche he praied to entre his house, their feete to wassh, refection of mete to take, recreacioun and sport to make of their werynes; and thus he praied theym with an honest chiere. Thei

¹⁸⁰ Lat. (I, 37, l. 3) hoc saeculum perdit et aliud.

¹⁸¹ Lat. tantum bolum.

¹⁸² Eng. omits ne dicaris gluto (I, 37, 10.)

¹⁸³ The Lat. (I, 37, l. 10) has nothing corresponding to this sentence.

¹⁸⁴ Lat. has simply nec pocula sumas donec, etc.

¹⁸⁵ Lat. ne discaris vinosus.

¹⁸⁶ Lat. bolum 'morsel.'

¹⁸⁷ Ms. 'this and'; Lat. (I, 37, l. 20) Hoc etiam.

forsoth as to a grete persone as he was, graunted anon to his peticioun. Forsoth whan they comen to Loth, eftsones and eftsones wern [thei] praied that thei shulden vndergo his Roof, for that he was no grete persone; as coarted or driven of soule thei wenten away."¹⁹⁷ A yong [man] oones asked an old man: "Whan I am boden to mete shal I ete moche?"¹⁹⁸ To whom thold man saide: "Mochel forwhi if he be thi friend that bad the, he shal joye and be glad of thi moche etyng; forsoth if he be an enemy he shal sorow and be sorowful."¹⁹⁹ To whiche thold man saide: "What and wherfor laughest thou, chield? For I am Remembred of the wordis that I have herd of blac Maymund."

XXII.²⁰⁰ THE LAZY SERVANT MAIMUND

"Suche an old man asked of hym hov moche he myght ete. To whom he: 'Of whos mete? of myn mete or of another?' Quod he: 'Of thyn.' Maymund: 'As litel as I may.' Quod he: 'What of another?' [Maymund]: 'As moche as I may.'" To whom thold man: "Thow now remembreth of the wordis of sum gloton, slowth, foole, jangler, or and a litel cat. And whatsumever of hym suche be saide: this or that, more or lasse he fyndeth in hym."²⁰¹ Tholdman: "His lord comaunded hym suche a nyght to shitte the yaate; and he oppressed with slowth and vnlust myght nat arise and therfor he saide the yaate was shit. Forsoth than in the Morow the lord saide: 'Maymunde, open the yaate.' To whom the seruaunt saide: '[Maister], I wist wel that thou woldest have it open this day and therfor I shit it nat at eve.' Than the lord apperceived that he left it vndon because of slewth and saide, 'Arise and do thi werke for it is day and the Sonne is now high'. To whom the seruaunt: 'If the sonne he at an height gyve me mete.' To whom the lorde saide: 'Thow most worst seruaunt, wiltow ete the nyght?' To whom the seruaunt: 'If it be nyght suffre me to sleepe.' Another tyme the lord saide to his seruaunt in the nyght: 'Maymunde, arise and see whether it Rayne or nat.' He forsoth cald the hounde whiche lay without the gate and whan the dogge cam he felt his feete that wern drye and saide to his lord that it Rayned nat.

¹⁹⁷ This is a very inexact translation; cf. I, 37, 25, quia autentica non erat persona, velut coacti annuerunt.

¹⁹⁸ Lat. quid faciam: parum vel nimis comedam?

¹⁹⁹ The English omits Hoc audito risit puer 'When the boy heard this he laughed.'

²⁰⁰ No. XXVII in the Latin, I, 38, l. 3.

²⁰¹ The English omits the following sentence of the Latin (I, 38, l. 7): Iuvenis: Multum placet mihi de eo audire, quia quicquid de eo est, derisorium est; et si quid de eius dictis vel factis mente retines, eloquere, et habeo pro munere. The young man: "I am greatly pleased to hear about him, for everything about him is ridiculous; and if you remember any of his sayings and actions, tell me and I shall have my reward."

Another tyme the lord asked his seruaunt in the nyght (f. 133) if any fuyre were in the house. He forsoth cald the cat and tempted hir whether she were hote or nat, whiche whan³⁰³ he fond cold saide to his lord ther was noon."

[The Yongman]: "Of the yongman his slowth now have I herd and the jangler I coveite to here." Than thold man: "It is saide that his lord cam glad from the market for the moche wynnyng that he had there. And Maymund the seruaunt went out agenst his lord; whom whan his lord saw, [he was] crymynous lest any shrewd tidynges [he would tell], as he was wont to tell, [and] saide vnto hym: 'Beware thow tel me no shrewd tidynges.' The seruaunt saide: 'I shal tel the no shrewde tidynges; but, sir, Bispel our litel dog is dede.' To whom the lord: 'How is he dede?' The seruaunt: 'Our Mule was agast and brake his halter³⁰³ and trade the hounde vndir his feete and so hath slayn hym.' The lord: 'And what is don of the Mule?' The seruaunt saide: 'He fil in the dicke and is dede.' The lord than: 'How was the Mule gasted?' Than the seruaunt: 'Yowre sone fil from the solier above so that he is dede, and so was the Mule gasted.' Than the lord: 'What dide his Moder?' The seruaunt: 'For the grete sorowe of hir sone she is dede.' The lord: 'Who kepith the house?' The seruaunt: 'Noon, forwhy it is torned into asshe and what ellis that was therin.' The lord: 'How was it brent?' The seruaunt: 'The same nyght that my lady deide, the foote Maiden whiche wacchid for my lady was foryeteftul and left the candel in the Chamber and so thyn house is brent.' The lord: 'Wher is the footemayde?' The seruaunt: 'She wold have qwenched the fuyre and³⁰⁴ fil vpon hir hede and is dede.' The lord: 'How escapest thow whiche art so slow?' The seruaunt: 'Whan I saw the foote maide dede I fled.'

Than the lord wounder sorowful cam to his neyghburghs praieng hem to host and herburgh hym in sum howse. In the meane while he mette oon of his friendis, whiche whan he saw hym sorowful asked hym why he sorowed. He to hym reherced that his seruaunt had saide. The friende forsoth to the desolate friende reherced ageyne, sayeng as to make hym myrry: 'Friende, nyl thow be nat desolate ne sory, forwhi often tymes fallen to a man many worldly aduersitees that thoo thynges desirith and with honest deth to fynissh; and anoon suche comodites comen vnto hem that the more redier swetnes be to hym to Remembre of the aduersitees

³⁰³ Ms. 'whom.'

³⁰³ The English omits the following clause, *dum fugeret*.

³⁰⁴ Lat. (I, 39, l. 6) *et cecidit trabs super caput eius*, and a beam fell on her head.

past.²⁰⁵ But thiese kyndly thynges as wel in vnmesurable floteryng variaunce of merites with ordynaunce of the high Ruler distinctith to arbitrement.²⁰⁶ This and the prophete Job strengthed to ensample of whos soule was nat deuoured with losse of thynges.²⁰⁷ Whether hastow nat herd what the philosopher saith: 'Who may in this chaungeable world be any thyng stable, or who may in this lif any thyng to have enduryng while and whan thei bien so transitory?'"

The Arabik to (f. 133^b) his sone: "Sone, whan any aduersite fallith to the, nyl thow be to sorowful neither therof be in to moche desolacioun, for this is nat the kynde nor the maner to denye god. But thow oughtest to praise god, as wele of aduersite as of prosperite. Forsoth many evils fallen to men whiche that comen as to eschewe and flee the more and the gretter evils; and many [evil] thynges fallen whiche enden in goode. And therfor thow ougtest to praise [god] in al thynges and in hym to trust, as the versifiour saith: 'Whan thow art in sorow nyl thow be busy therof, but permytte and suffre the tyme in goddis disposicioun and tel ageyn alwey the goodenes to com; and so shaltow be foryeteful of evils, forwhi many evils comen whiche han a goode end.' The philosopher saith: 'The goodis of this world bien eveene myxt and medled. Forsoth thow etest no hony without venym.' Another 'Whasumever bien in the world bien chaungeable; and what goodis thow hast of hem thei bien to come to the though it be or thow feeble be and of evil streng this thow mayst nat withstande.'²⁰⁸

Another: 'Because they allow a slow person to obtain what he desires, they also refuse a swift person the obtaining of his.'

Another: 'He hymself beawtith the world with fairness and bi that he hath wonne that he wold the erth hym swolowith and devourith.' Another: 'As in a twynklyng of an eye endith the glorie and ioies of the world; and as so free al abidith now, he seeth nat of thynges obteyned'."

²⁰⁵ This sentence is a good example of the translator's crude, inartistic work and his insufficient knowledge of the Latin (I, 39, l. 11): *Amice, noli desolari, quia multo- tiens contingit homini tam graves adversitatum inundationes sustinere quod desideret eas etiam inhonesta morte finire; et statim eveniunt ei tanta commoda quod prorsus dulce sit ei praeteritarum reminisci adversitatum.*

²⁰⁶ Lat. (I, 39, l. 14) *Sed humanarum rerum tam immensa fluctuatio variante meritorum ordine summi rectoris distinguitur arbitrio.*

²⁰⁷ Lat. prophetiae Iob corroborantur exemplo: *cuius animum non pessumdedit amissio rerum.*

²⁰⁸ Lat. (I, 40, ll. 1-2) *et quae ex eis tibi bona sunt ventura, licet sis debilis, et malum viribus devitare non poteris.* In the English version the speech of the next philosopher is omitted (Lat. 40, l. 3.):

XXIII.²⁰⁹ SOCRATES (DIOGENES) AND THE KING.

Forsoth proverbialy thei seyn that Socrates eschewid the tumult and the multitude of worldly people and a fieldly lif coveited, chase hym to the woode and to a place of sikernes to dwelle in half a Tonne; of whiche the bottum he sette agenst the wynde and the shadewe, and that was open gladly agenst the Sonne. Whom the kynges hunters, whan they had founden scornede hym sleying his life, bigan to turne away the myrry beames of the sonne. To whom he with a glad chiere [saide]: 'That ye may nat yeve me presume nat to take away.' To that thei wrathed and hym to delaie that hym nedid wolden have compelled and out of the wey han led, lest that the eyen of men passyng by and of their lord so vile a persone shuld have offended. That nat the threatis or manaces of worthy men [saide]: 'Avoide and go, lest of thy long studie and busynes any evil vnto the happene, forwhi our kyng with his seruaunt and meyne is to passe this wey.'²¹⁰ Thei forsoth in hym berkyng and threateyng the philosopher biholdyng saide:²¹¹ 'Yowre lord is nat my lord but my seruaunt.' That heryng and with a newly chiere hym biholdyng, sum decre thei purposiden of lasse Reproof and threate til thei herden the sentence of the kyng thei decreeden.²¹² Forsoth while thei thus decreeden the kyng cam with his meyne, and what was the cause of (f. 134) the strif askyng, what deedis wern don or saide, the kynges seruauntis rehercyng he knewe it.²¹³ The kyng therfor willyng to knowe what of tho foule thynges to hym reherced wern aught feyned, to the philosopher than he went and inquiryng what the philosopher saide of hym. So as bfore vnto his meyne, so hym assured to be seruaunt of his seruauntis. The sentence of whiche wordis the kyng benyngly and with a diligent trust asked hym to tel and shewe. To whom the philosopher bihielde the face and chiere of his dignite lightly saide: 'Suche wil is seruaunt vnto me and to me servith and I nat to hym. And thow in the contrarie art subiect vnto wil and to hym thow servist, and

²⁰⁹ No. XXVIII in the original, I, 40, l. 8.

²¹⁰ The corresponding Latin for this sentence is (I, 40, l. 14) *Quod non valentes minati sunt ei dicentes: Vade ne quid mali ex protervitatibus studio tibi contingat, quia rex noster et dominus cum familiaribus suis et primitibus est hac parte transiturus.*

²¹¹ Lat. *Illos autem in se latrantes philosophus intuens.*

²¹² The words of this sentence are quite distinct in the Ms., but the meaning is obscure. The Latin (I, 40, l. 18) runs, *Quod audientes et novercali vultu eum respicientes quidam eum detruncare proposuerunt, minus vero improbi donec sententiam regis audirent, parcere ei decreverunt.*

²¹³ In this sentence again we have a specimen of the crudest translation of the Latin, in which the literal meanings of the words are occasionally set down without any apparent connection with what precedes or follows, *Dum vero in hunc modum decertarent, rex adveniens et quae causa litigii foret perquirens, quae gesta fuerant vel dicta famulis referentibus cognovit.*

nat he to the. Therefore thow art seruauant of hym whiche servith me.' Than the kynge fixed a litel his sight in to the erth and saide: 'Fader, ne shamest thow nat nor gastest of my power?'²¹⁴ To whom the philosopher in the straytnes tooke his seete²¹⁵ and saide: 'Knowe thow hym to the to grete abusioun to have lordship of mortal thynges and the matier of thynges bryngyng the to opteyne whiche nat with thi vertu or strength, nor stilliche thow doest it of eveene consent, but of glorious covetise as the chiernes of the thyng is thow hast don to be lawded and praised whiche that is exiled and voide of al the weight.'²¹⁶ So considre thow thi glorie that is past and thi power as may be now as nought nor to be drad; but neither of thynges to come, of whos hap or comyng is doutable and vncerteyn. Thus it owith of this present lif forwhi it is but litil and momentaneous and whiche in the twynklyng of an eye is brought to nought.'²¹⁷ He perceivynge the wordis of the philosopher, the kyng saide to his meyne: 'Forsoth he is the seruauant of god! See yee that yee do hym noon hurt nor non vn honest thing.'²¹⁸

XXIV.²¹⁹ THE WISE MERCHANT AND THE IMPROVIDENT KING

"Forsoth it is saide that suche a kyng of the Scites²²⁰ bi the comune assent of his nobles to suche on of his seruauantis whom thei cald Anne²²¹ to be prudent and wise in seculier and worldly thynges; al the bridels and Rulis of his Realme to hym he commytted, whiche al the Revenues and Rentis of the Realme he Received and pleasantly and pesibly entreatid, the house and the household meyne and Ministres seruauantis and their dispenses ordeyned. A Riche Marchaunt his brother in a Citee fer of indwellid. The which perceived bi Rumour and tidynges of his brother enhauncyng and pro-

²¹⁴ Lat. (I, 41, l. 2) Ut patet in verbis tuis, nihil meae potentiam gloriae vereria.

²¹⁵ Lat. in angustam suae mentis sedem receptus.

²¹⁶ Lat. (I, 41, l. 3) Scis ipse nimium tibi ambitionem rerum mortalium dominatam fuisse et materiam gerendis rebus te optavisse, quo ne virtus tua ut ipse fateris consenesceret tacita; sed ob cupidinem gloriae sicut rei sinceritas est fecisti adipiscenda. quae gloria quam sit exilis et totus vacua ponderis, sic considera. Tuae praeteritae gloriae potentia utpote, et cet.

²¹⁷ The English omits the final clause of the rather long sentence of the original, ob hoc ergo in nulla parte sui est formidanda, 'for this reason therefore it is in no respect to be dreaded for its own sake.'

²¹⁸ In the Latin version this tale is followed by a discussion of the end of life (De vitae termino) between the master and his disciple. And a small part of the connecting dialogue is not given in the English translation; but in the English version what is reproduced has been transferred from its original place (between XXVIII and XXIX) and inserted after No. XXIV corresponding, not to XXIX of the Latin, which would be the natural order, but to No. XXVI.

²¹⁹ No. XXVI of the original, I, 35, l. 23.

²²⁰ This word is not in the Latin, which runs: Dictum namque fuit quod quidam rex suorum, et cet. See I, 35.

²²¹ This word might be 'Aime' or 'Amie' in the Ms.; but even so there is nothing corresponding to it in the Latin, either in meaning or in form, but 'antea,' the sentence being cuidam suo familiari, quam antea cognoverat in saecularibus esse prudentem.

motyng, arraied a felawship as it bihoved as to visite his brother [and] bigan his jorney. Only bfore [he] sent a messenger lest that sodainly or vnprovided [he] shuld come; whiche told of his brothers comyng to a Citee that was ther nygh.²²² He heryng of his brother, the brother mette hym and with a glad chiere hym tooke and (f. 134^b) resceived. Than after past a fewe daies, place and tyme purveied whiche he knewe pleasaunt vnto hym, among other thynges rehersed vnto the kyng his brothers comyng. To whom the kyng: 'If thi brother wil dwel and Rest with the in my Realme, al my thynges to the with hym I shal betake to kepe. And though that he denye it, yet I shall yeve and graunt hym large possessions in this Citee; and al the customs that he ought to do vnto me I shal pardon hym. If forsoth from that only bi touche or feelyng of love natural [he] wil go ageyn in to his cuntrey, with many chaunge of vestymentis and whatsumever ellis to hym necessarie with habundance I shal enlarge.' The wordis of the kyng herd, the brother cam to the brother and as moche as his lord had hym promysed to hym he told and rehersed. To whom the brother: 'If thow wilt that I dwel with the, shewe me how moche bien the Rentis of the kyng and his Revenues.' He forsoth shewid hym al. Of that he askid hym what was the kynges expenses; and he told hym of that he made. Than he accompted that the kynges expenses was as moche as the Rentis and Revenus amounted; and [he] saide vnto his brother: 'Friend and brother, I see that the kynges dispenses bien as moche as his Rentis. And if yowre kyng areised any bataile or any other suche thyng like, wherof shalbe procured for his knyghtis or wherof shal their wagis bien founde?' [The] Brother: 'Therof we shuln seeke other counsaile.' To whom the brother: 'I dreede me if I shuld be partyner²²³ of this maner counsaile, and therfor farwele, for here I wil no more ne lenger dwell.'²²⁴

"Svche a philosopher saith: 'To werke for the world to come as thow now shuldest die, and so as for this present world thow were alwey to lyve. Forsoth it is bettir that after thi deth thyn enemyes have thi purchase than that thow live needily in this lif.' Another

²²² Lat. (I, 36, l. 1) Praemisso tandem nuntio, ne subitus aut improvisus veniret, qui de adventu suo fratri referret, civitati in qua frater aderat appropinquavit.

²²³ Lat. (I, 36, l. 16) Timeo ne census meus sit pars huius consilii.

²²⁴ Now, the English translator inserts a portion of the dialogue which connects tales XXVIII and XXIX in the Latin after No. XXIV; but he omits the beginning of the discussion about the end of life (see I, 41, l. 12): Again the disciple said to his master: "Since worldly things are so transitory, why should we make just as great preparations as if they were lasting?" The master: "Because the end of life is uncertain." At this point the English version takes up the argument again.

saith: 'The world is transitorie; of that therfor with honeste provide to the althynges necessary, forwhi the cours of lif is but short.' Another saith: 'The world is as a transitorie brigge, therfor bihold it nat. The world is a stable brigge whos entre is the wombe of the Moder and deth shalbe thissue of the same'.²²⁵

A versifiour saith: 'Deth is a yaate openyng and shewyng al erthely thynges bi the wey; but I seeke after this whiche is the house of habundaunce.' Ther is an house of delices to goddis seruauntis and ther is an house of derknes to theym that deserven peynes.²²⁶

The Arab asked his father: "How can I acquire the home of delights and the fame of that one?" The father: "Whatever dear and precious things you possess, deposit them for safe-keeping there and when you come thither, they will be ready for you." The son: "How can I entrust money to a house, the door of which I can not yet find?" The father: "Hear what the son of the king's counsellor did after his father's death." The son: "Father, tell me and I will not refuse to follow your counsel." The father: "A certain king had a wise counsellor and servant, who at his death left a young heir well instructed in the ways of court life. To him he left his entire estate which was large, and an abundance of riches and then died. After this the king summoned the boy to him and informed him of the death of his father, that he might not grieve more sorely, and whatever the father by his testament left under his control for the son he assured him of, and in addition he promised that he would take him into his father's place when he became of age. Thereupon the youth bade the king farewell and joyously went to his own home. The king then forgot about him, and he was in no haste to return to the king. After a long time, the people in the district in which the boy lived began to be in such great want that they were in danger of death by famine. The youth saw this and he was much grieved in spirit, because he was of a generous nature, and so he emptied his granaries and distributed the contents among the poverty-stricken people; he also gave bountifully of his stock of wine and meat to those in distress. And as the suffering increased his decreasing resources were not sufficient to supply the wants of the needy. And afterwards, though he did not hesitate to give his fortune for grain, so as to save the lives of the laboring people from hunger and thirst as much as he could, that was still not sufficient. He did the same thing with his clothes and jewelry. And thus the period of a year passed in which he rescued many people from the very jaws of death. There was also in the same locality a certain amanuensis of the king, who filled with envy towards the youth, was secretly stirring

²²⁵ The translator has omitted a few important words in the original and thus made the meaning somewhat confusing (see I, 41, l. 19), *Alius: Saeculum et quasi pons: transi ergo, ne hospiteris. Et alius: Saeculum est quasi pons instabilis: cuius introitus est matris uterus, et eiusdem moris erit exitus.*

²²⁶ The rest of the connecting dialogue in the Latin (see I, 41, l. 25 and 42) and the immediately following tale (No. XXIX, *The Wise Son of the King's Counsellor*) are omitted from the English.

up bitter hostility against him. This fellow tried to exasperate the king against the boy by some such words as these: 'Master, your majesty's moderation towards the son of your former counsellor, whose father left him an inexhaustible supply of money was very weak, not to say foolish; for now neither you nor he have the money, because he, silly youth, has squandered it.' The king, moved to anger by such words, sent a messenger for the young man, to whom he spoke as follows: "Foolish son of a wise man, idle and lavishly extravagant, why hast thou wasted the wealth acquired by wisdom which was entrusted to thy keeping?" To this the youth replied with dejected countenance—for he feared the face of his chief, inflamed as it was, with eyes flashing furiously: "Master, if I may speak with your favor, I am not, as it seems to certain people, a foolish son entrusted to you by a wise father. My father did indeed gain wealth, and he placed it where thieves might steal it, in that he left it to me from whom you could take it, or fire could burn it or any accident destroy it. But I have bestowed it where it will be faithfully kept for him and for me." And the king asked what he had done with it. The youth related to him all his care in disposing of his wealth, and when the king heard his story he praised his actions highly in the presence of his attendants, and then received him into the service formerly done by his father as recompense. He afterwards gained new wealth and acquired greater riches than he formerly possessed. It was in this way that the noble son of the king's counsellor stored away treasure in his home of delights."

After the son heard these words of his father he said: "That youth acted wisely and gave evidence that great nobility was to be manifested in him. He did as the philosopher who advised his son, saying: 'Son, sell this world for the future, and you will gain both.' And so it happened."²²⁷

Another saith: "See yee lest yee bien disceived for worldly delites and broken with worldly fallaces and guyles and bien for-yeteful of deth to come, lest it fal to the as it fil to the thief entryng (f. 135) the house of the Richeman." To whom the sone and of the fader:²²⁸ "What fil therof, fader?" [The fader]:

XXV.²²⁹ THE THIEF CAUGHT WHILE HESITATING ABOUT WHAT TO TAKE

"The thief entrid the house of the Richeman and fond it ful of dyvers juels and precious thynges. Of this astonyed of the many dyvers diversitees and so precious Riches charged hymself for to

²²⁷ After this the English version returns to the dialogue which connects No. XXVIII (of the Latin) with No. XXIX, but it omits the first speech of the dialogue. Another correcting his son said: "Son work for the future life before death removes thee from work."

²²⁸ Lat. Ede, pater.

²²⁹ No. XXX of the original, I, 43, l. 9.

chese of the most Richest; and tho that wern most vile levyng and forsakyng, and in his choise wasted tyme til the day cam, what that he wol do he hid. And vnavised the wacche cam vpon and bihiel the thief in the house in cheesyng of the juels and hym with battis, habergeouns, and staves toke²⁸⁰ and cast hym in diepe prisoun. At the last date as now of his confessioun he herd the bittir stories and sentence of his hede; whiche if he had bfore thought of his day so nygh to come, or that shuld have befall, he wold han beware that he wold nat have be taken nor have lost his hede."²⁸¹

Another [philosopher] saide: "The Richessis of this world bien transitorie as the dreames of a slepyng man, the whiche wakyng in openyng of his eyen vnrecoverably he hath lost."²⁸²

"A certain shepherd dreamed he had a thousand sheep. These a certain dealer wishing to buy so that he could sell them at a profit, offered to pay a dollar for each sheep. But the seller demanded a dollar and a quarter. While they were disputing about the price the dream vanished. But when the vender discovered that it was a dream he began to shout, with eyes not yet open: 'Give me a dollar for each and you may take them all with you!'

But while they pursue in this manner the transitory joys of the world and are with gaping mouths trying to secure them, suddenly the approaching day, the final one of life, overtakes them and deprives them willy-nilly of all desired pleasures."

Then the son: "Can we then escape, in any way, our obligations to death?" The father: "Not at all; because its grasp is unavoidable, and we can not even with the skill of the physician escape from its greedy clutches." The son: "How shall we then bear up under this too great suffering?" The father: "Do as a certain poet says: 'Endure with strong heart what you can not shun, so shall what was harsh death be peaceful to you'."²⁸³

"It is told of a certain philosopher that he saw, as he was passing through an old graveyard, a marble slab placed over the ashes of a certain dead man; but on it were inscribed verses which expressed in the following manner the words of the dead man to passersby: 'Thou who passest by and dost not say, 'Blessed,' pause; keep these words of mine in thy ears and heart: I am what thou wilt be, and what thou now art I was once myself,—a scorner of bitter death who enjoyed happiness while I could. But death coming later I was snatched away from my friends and household, which is now grievously deprived of its father, whom they covered

²⁸⁰ Ms. 'hym toke.'

²⁸¹ English omits *vel quod gravius extitit*.

²⁸² There is nothing in the English version corresponding to the two immediately following short exempla of the original. The first of these (see I, 43) is entitled *About the Shepherd and the Dealer* (XXXI, *Exemplum de opifera et mangone*); it embraces only a few lines.

²⁸³ The second of the tales missing from the English version at this point, No. XXXII, is entitled *Concerning the Philosopher Crossing the Cemetery* (*Exemplum de philosopho per cimiterium transeunte*. Cf. I, 44.)

in the ground, and they paid the last rites to my ashes. But then the earth spoiled the brightness of my face, and all the mortal beauty of my form now lies here. Thou canst not even see that I was a man, if I perchance be exposed to view by the removal of the earth. Therefore pray to God for me with a pure heart, that he will permit me to enjoy eternal peace. And whoever prays for me let him request that he also be allowed to abide with me in paradise.' When he had repeated those verses again and again and had laid all worldly things aside, the philosopher was made a hermit."

XXVI.²⁸⁴ THE SAYINGS OF THE PHILOSOPHERS AT THE TOMB
OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT

"It is saide of Alisaunder that his sepulture was al of gold and²⁸⁵ in a litel porché sette. To whiche cam many philosophers, of the whiche oon saide: 'Alisaunder made his tresour of gold; and now the contrarie, gold makith tresour of hym.' Another saide: 'Yisterday al the world sufficed hym nat; and this day only iiij cubites sufficen hym.' Another saide: 'Yisterday he empiere and lordshipped the people; and this day the people lordshippith hym?' Another saide:²⁸⁶ 'Yesterday he pressid therth; and this day the erth pressith hym.' Another saide: 'Yisterday the people dred hym; this day thei deuten hym vile.' Another saide: 'Yisterday he had friendis and enemyes; this day he hath equal and evene.' But of xxxii philosophers standyng aboute hym, that eueriche of the myghti kyng saide is to be brought in long memory."

XXVII.²⁸⁷ THE HERMIT CHASTENING HIS SOUL

"Also an heremyte and philosopher in this maner correctid his soule and saide: 'Soule, wite thow and knowe thow while power is in the and in thyn hand, that thow werke and do bfore that thow moevisst from thi place to the house in whiche right and justice dwellith and abidith, and to the yaate of the place wher thow shalt trede in a Rolle whatsumeuer thyn hand hath don and wrought in this world.'²⁸⁸ And angels of hevene on thi Right and lift side shuln discovere, open, shewe, and tel thi counsail; and what goode

²⁸⁴ No. XXIII of the original, see I, 44-45.

²⁸⁵ Ms. 'and and.'

²⁸⁶ Between this speech and that of the preceding philosopher the English version omits the sayings of two philosophers, Alius: Heri multos potuit a morte liberare: hodie nec eius iacula valuit devitare. Alius: Heri ducebat exercitus: hodie ab illis ducitur sepulturae.

²⁸⁷ No. XXIV of the original, I, 45, l. 9.

²⁸⁸ For latter half of this sentence the Latin is, et ad portam loci iudicii, ubi leges in rotulo quicquid tua manus egerit in hoc saeculo.

or evil thow hast don²³⁹ in any of the same shalbe clerly examyned,²⁴⁰ and al thi brethren and friendis shuln nat fynde no redempcioun nor maynprice, and of this and from the vttrly parten and forsaken. Therfor this day take thow redempcioun; oo goode deede do thow bfore that the day of somounce come. Be thow turned vnto god and say nat (f. 135^b), "I shalbe torned to-morow."²⁴¹ forwhi so morowly²⁴² and daily²⁴² concupiscence shal lette the and haply withold the in to the last day. Therfor remembre and have mynde of the daies of the world and of the yeeris of old generaciouns whiche now bien past, and therof take thow wit and feele. Werbe now princis, wherbe now kynges, wherbe now Riche men that gadreden tresours and therof wern thei prowde? Now bien they as whiche ne weren; now bien thei as a flour or a blossom whiche that is fallen from the tree whiche no more cometh ageyne.²⁴³ Ne dreede thow nat, my soule, ne dreede thow nat to moche the aduersites of the worlde. Dreede the day of thi jugement. Be agast and abashed of the grete multitude of thi synnes. Have mynde of thi creator and maker whiche shalbe thi juge and thi witnes.'

Suche an heremyte asked of his master: 'What shal I do in this that may go bfore me in another world?' Than the Maister: 'Do the goode that is to be don in thi degre and kynde.' Another Heremyte cried bi the strete:²⁴⁴ 'Ne trowe ne trust nor bilieve to thynges foryeteful for to have durabilite of thynges in thend.' Another sowned and saide: 'Love and profite asmoche to yowr soulis as to yowre bodies.' Another: 'Foryete yee nat that that foryetith nat, yow and kepe yee to governaunce.' Another: 'Dreede yee god, forwhi the dreede of god is the key to al goode-nesse and to take the glorious conduct. Of the whiche Salamon puttith and settith in thend of his speche:²⁴⁵ "Al thynges redily and toguydre here we: 'Dreede thow god and kepe his comaundementis.' to this is everyman. And al thynges that thei don shalbe brought to goddis iugement for every synne, be it goode or evil'."²⁴⁶

²³⁹ The English omits the last clause of the sentence preceding this and the first of the present sentence itself as compared with the Latin: *et quicquid a te fuerit exco-gitatum. Et ante Deum veniet tuum iudicium*, and whatever shall have been thought by thee. And thy judgment shall come before God.

²⁴⁰ Lat. *et una lance quicquid boni et alia quicquid mali egeris, sed uno et eodem declarabitur examine*. Cf. I, 45.

²⁴¹ The sentence structure in this passage is quite different from that of the Latin, *Hodie itaque redemptionem accipe, id est: bonum fac assidue. Et antequam veniat dies summationis, ad Deum revertere et non dicas: cras revertar et non morabor, quia sic crastinantem, et cet.* See I, 45, l. 16.

²⁴² Both these words are given as interpretation of *crastinantem*.

²⁴³ Eng. omits clause of Latin immediately preceding this: *mode sunt finiti sicut qui non vixerunt*, now they have ceased to exist as those who never lived.

²⁴⁴ Lat. *per vicos*.

²⁴⁵ Lat. in *Ecclesiaste* ait.

²⁴⁶ After this sentence which concludes the story in the Latin, there are four or five lines of Epilogue.

Let us therefore as suppliants pray constantly for the great mercy of the omnipotent God, in order that we may by means of our good works deserve to be placed after the day of final judgment on the right hand of his Son, to enjoy eternal rest in the heavenly home together with the faithful in the presence of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom are honor and glory with the Father and the Holy Spirit throughout the infinite ages. Amen.²⁴⁷

XXVIII.²⁴⁸ THE KNIGHT IN EXILE AND HIS FRIEND WHOSE
WIFE PLAYED HIM FALSE

Svche a knyght of his cuntrey of many hasty enemyes convict of his prevy synnes iuged to the deth, but withe kynges saieng and of the people knowen soone from the people was he exiled. And forwhi he left to hym no friend owther in the cuntrey or in thendis of the cuntrey, fled fer of wher nat only the act of his wikkednes but moche wors it was to hem purposed an vnknown name with a laudable novelte thold cruelte and mansuete and the vndouted intemperat strength to converte and turne. Applied hymself to suche a myghti man, to whom so prudently is infelawshipped, and as of the Subiectis of that lord he myght be leest anoied and to hymself most profite, while and whan thei promytted plenteuously as moche feith and lasse noied than dide vnkynde cruelte, and while tho open signes bitokened moche more power than he myght do.

Forsoth he had in the same felawship a felawe of high vertu, a man the whiche with symilitude and liknes of vertu chosen, asked hym as in friendship thei myghten come. He nat denyed, an oth²⁴⁹ halwed and rightfully to swere friendship and covenaut affermed and stidefastly to be comuned²⁵⁰ and commune to wynnyng and losse. [And he] bitooke and lad that exul his felaw in to his Citee. Forsoth willyng with hym to comune, his wif separat brought he²⁵¹ to

²⁴⁷ Cf. I, 46. The English version has nothing corresponding to this epilogue and does not end here, but continues the discussion of the philosophers for several paragraphs more, cf. above p. 65, footnote 246. Then the three additional tales mentioned above (*Introd.* p. 11, footnote 9) are given without the usual philosophic discussions which link together the preceding exempla.

²⁴⁸ The following three tales were printed by Hilka and Söderhjelm (*op. cit.* I, Anhang ii, pp. 68-73) with the corresponding Latin from Cambr. Univ. Libr. Ms. li. 6. 11 in parallel columns. The second one of the three (No. XXIX) was also printed by the present writer in vol. XXIV (Nov. 1909, pp. 218-22) of *Mod. Lang. Notes (A Middle English Addition to the Wager Cycle)*. The present text has been carefully collated with the rotograph of the original Ms. The Hilka-Söderhjelm text is on the whole reliable, though it contains a considerable number of mistakes of minor importance. Each case in which my own transcript differs from their reprint I have settled by reference to the original.

²⁴⁹ H. & S. read 'quoth'; but the Ms. has 'an oth', which suits the context, and the Latin agrees: Non abnegavit ille: sanctita est iureiurando amiscicia et. cet. I, 69, ll. 4-5.

²⁵⁰ H. & S. incorrectly 'stedfast....communed.'

²⁵¹ Ms. 'hym.'

host, nor ²⁵² shewed hym his house.²⁵³ Forsoth the same Citee hasted from thendis, but the vertu and strength of theym was but a fewe daies. That exul or exiled man shewid to his felaw triewly²⁵⁴ of the even partis of al the lucre and wynnynge. Whan also that pees was made and don in the Citee, sumtyme he allone walkyng bi the stretis²⁵⁵ biholdyng gold and silver made and hostriches and hors of bataile from anhigh, of the wif of his felaw was seen and most brennyngly of hir loved, and is required as that same nyght he come to hir bi the message of hir footemaide. He cam and went ageyn with grete weight of gold and many precious stones away bare. Whan that this lucre he departed to his felawe, whor²⁵⁶ that he had it shewed and told, advertisyng he and his wif to be corrupt and his money to be mynnised.²⁵⁷

To that he the lord of the house symuled and feyned hymself to go fer of, vnavisede to be. Vnder the barel in whiche the habergeoun²⁵⁸ was wont to be torned happened thadvouter ther was hidde and (f. 136^b) busily sought and nat founde. Whan the lord was wery, he and the wif laughed that he hield so long and knocked on the barel next whom he stode; neither it perced²⁵⁹ nor opened and the felaw a litel felt. After that the grutche ended and he gon, with more charge left the knyght the secunde tyme than at the first. The lucre eveene patid, [thei] arraied theym eftsones with sawtis and watches to go ageyn and hid was bihynde the chambre dore and nat founde. And so parted the lucre. The thridde tyme watches and sawtis arraied, he was cast in an huche ful of clothis changeable.²⁶⁰ Whan that he wolde seeke with a constant chiere and a stidefast face to his entent, she consented. Saide only hymself that he wolde entre as to knowe to drawe, wrappe, and folde the clothis and also to shape and olde clothis and fumous²⁶¹ to breke and so by space of tyme covered, protect and defended the advoutrier. The whiche nat²⁶² founde sorowyng he departed. The knyght [is sent

²⁵² Ms. 'nat.'

²⁵³ Lat. I, 69, ll. 7-8. *Nolens ei communicare uxorem suam in separatum duxit hospicium, domo sua nequaquam ei ostensa.*

²⁵⁴ H. & S. 'traewly.'

²⁵⁵ H. & S. 'strietis.'

²⁵⁶ H. & S. 'whor,' Ms. clearly 'whor.' Lat. (I, 69, l. 21) unde haberet indicavit.

²⁵⁷ Ms. might be 'mynused' or 'mynnised'. English omits *Cumque nocte proxima illum reditum ex verbis illius percepisset, struit insidias.*

²⁵⁸ H. & S. 'habergeam.'

²⁵⁹ Ms. abbreviated form should be read 'perced' not 'parted,' as H. & S.; Lat. *ut eo perforato eciam socium parum sauciaret.*

²⁶⁰ H. & S. 'changeable.'

²⁶¹ H. & S. read 'furnons,' but the Ms. form looks more like 'fumous' or 'fumons;' the corresponding Ms. reading in the Latin (I, 69, l. 42) is *uestita .instita uestis frunona*, amended by H. & S. to read, *vestita astuta vestis furnonae.*

²⁶² H. & S. 'not.'

away and] for his infinite dreede rewarded with grete mede. Of whiche particioun made with his felaw he now hymself eftsoones no more swore.

Than he sorowful the hurt and damage of his possessioun and forsoth more sorowful the losse of his wif with the advowtrier²⁸³ arraied to his felaw and felawesse as to the advowterer and advowteresse. [He] made forsoth an habundaunt and a plentivous felawship and feste, brought in and bad of his neighborghs and of his parentis and affinites, closed behynde the curteyn of the wif and his felaw replete and drunke, asked of hym if it pleased hym vnder guyle to Reherce and tel to the delectacioun of theym at the feste how moche money and in what maner he withdrew it from hir with whom he dide thadvowtry. Thadvowtrier deceived bi moche praier²⁸⁴ and drynk reherced the thyng. And whan in thende of the Recreacioun of the mete the spirit of hym to moche bolned and stopped as often is don, as he drow the curteyn accised and bounden sigh and with turmentis; ther turned to hymself to thende of lesyng that sumwhat that he had told seemed to be of lesyng, saieng: "Whan and that other fested it was seen to me to stonde in thentre of a brage; and lo alsodainly the thunder seemed to be quasshed and broken, and whan I in al the violence with dreede fallyng of the horrible brak out of sleepe." And so of temporal thyng don turned the trowth in to fals fantasy and saved that he had almost lost. And vtterly²⁸⁵ put his felawe in perdicoun and lost was wher that he covenanted with an oth to depose al envie from his wif. With reconsiliacioun so made, she ordeyned newe guyles and wrenches of advowtrie. Whan he forsoth of that counsail the house fallen and broken of a poore man to his house a litel straite way she perced²⁸⁶ under erth from that (f. 137) oon²⁸⁷ house into that other²⁸⁸ and had his free comyng and goyng whan that he wold. And whan this sufficed nat to theym, they toguyder saiden as to bien felawshipped in weddyng and Matremony and articularly in thiese wordis:²⁸⁹ "Mi lord is thi felaw; say thow to hym forwhi thow camst from thi cuntrey in wifes right and forwhi

²⁸³ H. & S. 'advowterer.'

²⁸⁴ H. & S. 'prier,' but the Ms. abbreviation would easily resolve into 'praier;' the Latin has *Deceptus ille prece nima*. This sentence inserted on lower margin of Ms.

²⁸⁵ H. & S. 'vtterly.'

²⁸⁶ H. & S. 'parted'; Lat. (I 70, l. 35) *perforat*.

²⁸⁷ Omitted by H. & S.

²⁸⁸ The translator missed the meaning of this sentence entirely, *Cum enim ille ex illius consilio domum emisset a paupere domui sui socii contiguam, subterraneam perforat ille viam de domo in aliam*.

²⁸⁹ H. & S. 'woordis.'

that it is yowr maner and Saracyns lawe nat as to take a wif²⁷⁰ but of the yift of a lawful man. Wiltow have hir of hym and of his yift as that thow hast nonother friend in this cuntrey? Whiche whan he seeth me shal trowe to be his and shal doubte. Than if that he turne hom as to see whether it be I, I shal meete and abide hym in the chamber;²⁷¹ [he] shal arbiter hymself to [be] disceived, than he turneth ageyn to the. And I eftsoones²⁷² shal come bfore hym, and so shal he yeve me to the to be seen of al theym that standen aboute; and so was it don."

XXIX. THE ROMAN MERCHANT WHO LAID A WAGER ON HIS WIFE'S CHASTITY.²⁷³

Ther were ii manchauntis in Rome of the whiche that oon had a wif, a chast²⁷⁴ and a faire womman. Forsoth that other no trustifeith had in no womman. Whan and wherfor sumtyme whan and other wern disceived of wymmens²⁷⁵ lightnes²⁷⁶ he joied²⁷⁷; he forsoth of the trust and feith of his wif ageynsaide that other, of the whiche thei²⁷⁸ put in plegge al their possessioun: this that he shuld corrupt hir withyn xv daies, he forwhi as with this condicioun stidefastly kept: that the husbond shuld nat warne or tel his wif of this covenaut. She therfor busied with al maner of lightnes as with nothyng lad nor huyred, bi hir footemayde or seruaunt with yiftes corrupt she was disceived. Forsoth she had a Ryng that is to of hir first husbondes yift²⁷⁹ above al possessiouns most diere.²⁸⁰ She had also a vernacle²⁸¹ in signe and of an hand and an half from the kne vnto the Right hipe. And whan so bi the footemaide or seruaunt prively had taken he that knowen Ryng, and with the knowlache that I have saide, told and rehersed to his felaw as signes and tokenes of most certayne advowtrye, he bitake with cursid suspeccioun exiled hymself of his possessioun and vsid of exile. This

²⁷⁰ H. & S. 'wit'; Lat. (I, 70, l. 42), coniugem.

²⁷¹ English omits first clause of next sentence, ubi cum invenerit me, when he has found me there.

²⁷² H. & S. 'eftscones.'

²⁷³ See *Mod. Lang. Notes*, vol. XXIV, p. 219; H. & S., I, 71-72.

²⁷⁴ H. & S. 'chaste.'

²⁷⁵ H. & S. 'wymmenis.'

²⁷⁶ 'lightnes' inserted on margin of Ms.

²⁷⁷ H. & S. omit 'he joied.'

²⁷⁸ H. & S. 'the.'

²⁷⁹ Lat. (I, 71, l. 19) Habebat autem anulum sibi primum mariti manus. When this tale was printed in *Mod. Lang. Notes* several years ago (1909), the Latin original had not been published. For this reason I offer there a few emendations of the Middle English text; with the Latin text now accessible, my emendations are, for the most part, omitted in this reprint.

²⁸⁰ H. & S. 'kiere'. Lat. carum (I, 71, l. 21.)

²⁸¹ Lat. verrucam.

thyng noised bi the Citee, she was outcast as advowteres and to the nephew or cosyn²⁸² of hir husbond she was committed.

Thei cam in to Alisaunder, and covered and hid with strength and kynde of clothis; beryng hymself evene to the kyng in manyfold service, in the friendship of the kyng hym bare as myght be in curtesye most swift and light. As admynistratrice of al the Realme the kynges Rentis wern infynityly multiplied bi his providence. Than themperour of Rome dede; his yong sone whan he Empired in the (f. 137^b) Empire, herd of the sapient wisdom²⁸³ of hym of Alisaunder, sent hym to Rome. [He] peased thempire, Restored soft and easy lawes in to the friendship of themperour and the Citezeins and the provynce with his high merites, nat puttyng hymself any symulacioun or token vnto his traitour. Bi hap and fortune [she] fond hir husbond among poore folk most porest and dide hym to be nurished. And bfore his traitour dide to be Rehersed his treason bfore the Citezeyns; that don arraied a feste to the delectacioun that is to say of felawship and festers; than at the last he opened and deemed into deth of his owne confessioun. The pore man went his wey and she to hir husbond.

XXX. THE UNCHASTE WIFE AND THE RESCUE OF HER LOVER

Svche on willyng to chastice his nephew or Cosyn and to with-drawe hym from the vnlieful love of wymmen and from the vnnumerable aduersities whiche often tyme fallith of this vnhappy thyng, of suche a clerk dide to write the pavour, basshidnes, and the dreede.

Svche a myghti man ther was²⁸⁴ whiche suche a day from his house the space of a daies jorney went to his place. The wif forsoth for hir housbondis made sure suche a clerk hir love, cald [hym] in the derk of the nyght. Whiche while of the fowle lust that thei vsiden, the husbonde vnavised and vnwares com hom ageyne. Forsoth ther mette hym in his jorney [oon] whiche ple-saunt thynges hym told. To whom al his houshold meyne mette hym with lightis. The clerk heryng that wherfor to torn hym vtterly²⁸⁵ he wist nat. Only out of the chamber he²⁸⁶ went for to huyde hym and for overmoche dreede so astonyed that he wist nat wher to torne hym, or bi what wey to go out of the Court vtterly²⁸⁷ he wist nat.

²⁸² Lat. nepos.

²⁸³ H. & S. 'wisdom.'

²⁸⁴ English omits *babens uxorem*.

²⁸⁵ H. & S. 'vtterley.'

²⁸⁶ H. & S. 'hee.'

²⁸⁷ H. & S. 'vtterly.'

Forsoth also he herd al the houshold as in suche a busynes evene moeved, and to tho thynges whiche to the lord and his felawship and to hors wern necessary, here and ther ran and arraied. In the meane while the wikked wif was so gnawen in hir conscience for dreede lest she shuld be take with the clerk, mette hir husbond with faire delicious wordis that he shulde nat be suspect of hir cursed deedis, willyng if that she myght nat only hym, but al his felawship in like gladnes, lest anything with grace issued withoutfurth as only the cause of his so soone comyng to require, she beyng glad in as moche as she myght to withhold as to shewe agenst a friend. The wretchid clerk huydeng²⁸⁸ in a corner for the dreede of the houshold meyne til al wern housed, was nat so hardy to go out of the Court. Forsoth he knew hymself to be prived of his life if he at suche tyme he wer ther founde of any of the lordes (f. 138) meyne. Whiche put and sette in so strait²⁸⁹ an angwissh, seeyng nowher no subsidie, refuge, nor help whider to flee, sawe a Tonne of the whiche that on end was out, lay in the porche of the house. The whiche forsoth whan he had seen, thider tended, and willyng hymself ther to huyde, entred in hopyng to escape the perel folowyng. But with the maner of that fere and basshidnes his drede bigan to augmente and to encrease. Forwhi ther was a Bere tied in the Court the whiche brak his cheyne at the discours and rennyng of the servauntis²⁹⁰ whom the houndis foloweden hider and thider and in their pursute hym bote and driew, and of veray neede coarted hym to entre in to the Tonne above saide. The meyne and servauntis fallyng to with grete and stavis willyng to drawe hym out, myght nat performe it, whos body was al hid save only the hede. The grace of this maner thyng of theym withoutfurth expelleden ran to that other part of the tonne to cast out the bottum. The wretche whiche was hid withyn tremblyng, quakyng and waillyng, praieng god that thei myght nat breke it, hield fast with al his myght, and with his feete knocked and smote on the Beres bak and with his hede he hield the bottum; so the Bere wold he nold he fled and the wretche huydyng remayned. The suters of this thyng ne bien thei nat of this vnremembred.

²⁸⁸ H. & S. 'huyding.'

²⁸⁹ H. & S. 'sofraite'!

²⁹⁰ Not in the Latin: *Quem canes insectantes, hac illacque sequentes et morsibus attractantes.* I, 73, ll. 20-22.

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